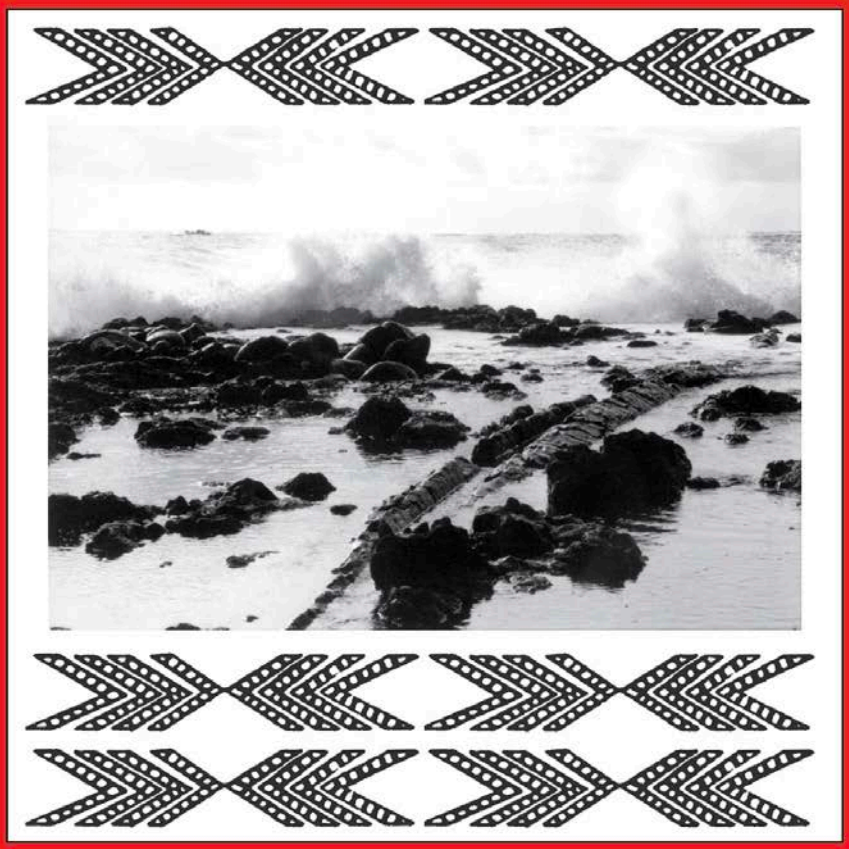
HAWAIIAN FISHING TRADITIONS



Moke Manu & Others

Kalamakū Press
Honolulu, Hawai‘ī

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This PDF edition of *Hawaiian Fishing Traditions* is a re-edited version of a 2006 print publication. Earlier print editions were published in 1992, 1994, and 1998 (Library of Congress Control Number: 2006921216; ISBN-13 Number: 978-0-9709597-5-1; ISBN-10 Number: 0-9709597-5-3).

The 2006 print edition of *Hawaiian Fishing Traditions* included Emma M. Nakuina's "Nanaue," and Martha W. Beckwith's essay "Hawaiian Shark ʻAumākua." They have been deleted from this PDF edition because they are now available in the PDF edition of *Nanaue the Shark Man and Other Hawaiian Shark Stories*. "Punia," a favorite of mine, appears in both collections.

The fish drawings have been scanned from Jordan and Evermann, *The Shore Fishes of Hawaii* (1905). The aku lure diagram on page 66 is from Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck)'s *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii, Section VII: Fishing* (1964).

Cover Photo: A pāhoehoe rock formation at Lehoʻula Beach, Hāna, Maui, said to be the backbone of the giant eel hooked and killed by ʻAiʻai, son of Kūʻula-kai.

To Dad, Makita Kawaharada (1926-1970),
a fisherman of Kāneʻohe Bay

Mahalo to Esther “Kiki” Mookini
for the translation of “Punia.”

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Pronunciation of Hawaiian

Consonants

p, k	about as in English, but with less aspiration.
h, l, m, n	about as in English.
w	after *i* and *e* usually like *v*; after *u* and *o* usually like *w*; initially and after *a* like *v* or *w*.
‘	a glottal stop, similar to the sound between the *oh*’s in English *oh-oh*

Vowels – Unstressed

a	like *a* in *above*
e	like *e* in *bet*
i	like *y* in *city*
o	like *o* in *sole* (but without off-glide)
u	like *oo* in *moon* (but without off-glide)

Vowels – Stressed (all without off-glides; vowels marked with macrons are somewhat longer than unmarked vowels.)

a, ā	like *a* in *far*
e	like *e* in *bet*
ē	like *ay* in *play*
i, ī	like *ee* in *see*
o, ō	like *o* in *sole*
u, ū	like *oo* in *moon*

This pronunciation guide is from the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, by Pukui and Elbert, UH Press, 1986.

An online Hawaiian dictionary can be found at http://wehewehe.org/cgi-bin/hdict.

Hawaiian Fishing Traditions

Moke Manu & Others

Edited by Dennis Kawaharada

PDF Edition, 2026

Introduction

I love fish, to eat ʻamaʻama
wrapped in ti leaves and broiled on hot coals…
– Sam Alama's "'Ama'Ama"

Hail to the manini and the pōpolo
Fish that live in the coral reef flats…
– Lot Kauwe's "Aloha Ka Manini"

Before the introduction of haole foods, Hawaiians recognized two main classes of food: ʻai, or vegetable food, particularly taro and poi, but also sweet potato, breadfruit, yam, and other produce of the land; and iʻa, or seafood. While pig, dog, chicken and wild birds were eaten, and might also be called iʻa (meat), fish was the main source of protein. ʻAi was the bland staple, iʻa the tasty accompaniment that made eating a delight. Seafood was eaten live, raw, baked, broiled, dried, and fermented. The word ʻono, "delicious"; describes the wide variety of seafood that pleased the palate. Songs such as Sam Alama's "'Ama'Ama" and Lot Kauwe's "Aloha Ka Manini" sing praises of tasty fish.

With a knowledge of fishing areas and seasons and an array of implements that included hooks and lines, lures, nets, basket traps, poisonous plants, and spears, a fisher supplied his family or his aliʻi with fish and shellfish from streams, fishponds, reefs, and ocean. Sometimes the catch was so huge, fish could be fed to the pigs and dogs, with some left over to dry as food or fuel for fire; some was left to rot. Those fishers that could supply large amounts of fish from ponds or catches at sea were believed to possess mana kupua, or supernatural power, to attract fish at will or make them multiply. Successful fishing implements, such as hooks or cowry shell lures became famous and were prized, passed on to heirs, and sometimes fought over.

This collection of Hawaiian fishing stories celebrates the great fishers of ancient times, who were known for their abilities to bring in extraordinary catches and for their victories over adversaries, including supernatural eel (puhi), octopus (heʻe), and shark (manō). Two of the most famous fishers were Kūʻula-kai, who along with his wife, Hina-puku-iʻa, became deified and worshiped as ʻaumākua of fishing because of their power to control fish; and their son ʻAiʻai, who traveled around the islands establishing fishing grounds and shrines and teaching the

people how to catch fish. Other notable fishers whose stories are told in this collection include ʻAiʻai's son Puniaiki and the aliʻi Nihooleki, who possessed pearl-shell aku lures (pā hī aku) that could bring in canoe loads of fish; Puniakaiʻa, an aliʻi of Kāneʻohe, noted for his friendship with Uhumākaʻikaʻi, a parrot fish who was the parent of all fish and who could draw fish to shore from all directions; and the moʻo woman Kalamainuʻu, who learned from ʻŌunauna (hermit crab) how to make and bait the hīnaʻi hīnālea, a basket trap for catching hīnālea.

In addition to memorializing the great fishers of Hawaiʻi, these stories express two socioeconomic concerns: the conservation of fish resources and the fair and generous distribution of the catch. The fishing ʻaumākua Kūʻula-kai and Hina-puku-iʻa and their son ʻAiʻai were known not just for fishing, but for propagating and conserving fish. ʻAiʻai punished the wanton fishing of ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae in Wailau, Molokaʻi, by getting his parents to use their supernatural powers to take away the catch. The aliʻi of Hawaiʻi used kapu to prevent the people from overfishing an area or from fishing during spawning season. Hau tree branches indicated a kapu against shore fishing along a stretch of beach.

An important fishing kapu concerned the ʻōpelu and the aku, two highly prized fish caught in great numbers in Hawaiian waters.ʻŌpelu was netted from July through January. Walter Paulo and Eddie Kaʻanana, two ʻōpelu fishermen from Miloliʻi, told me the best time for catching this fish is in October. ʻŌpelu was placed under kapu in February, until the end its spawning season, around July. The kapu on aku was lifted in February at the end of the Makahiki, the annual four-moth long harvest festival; aku was taken by trolling with lures through mid-summer – during the period when ʻōpelu was kapu. Aku was placed under kapu in July, when the ʻōpelu kapu was lifted and it could be caught and eaten again. The exact dates of the kapu were at the discretion of the fishing experts and priests. This kapu had religious sanction: both fish were sacred to the descendants of Pāʻao, a high priest, because the aku and ʻopelu saved him from storms sent by his brother Lonopele during a voyage from the South Pacific to Hawaiʻi. (See "The Story of Paao and Lonopele," Pukui *Folktales* 68-70; "The Story of Pāʻao," Kamakau, *Tales* 3-5.) The kapu protected these fish from overfishing and from being killed during their spawning seasons and hence insured their survival; breaking the kapu could result in death.

Kamakau describes the fishing kapu during the reign of Kamehameha (b. 1736-d. 1819): "He placed restrictions on sea fisheries for periods

of five months, and on the sixth month when the restriction was removed and fishing was allowed all over the land, the king and the commoners were usually the only ones to share the first day's catch, and the landlords and the commoners the second day's catch. After this the restrictions were removed, allowing all to fish for six months. At the end of this period restrictions were again placed over certain fish in order that they might increase. These restrictions were also extended to the deep-sea fishing grounds where the kahala were caught and the fish that go in schools, such as deep-sea squid, uhu, aku, and flying fish" (*Ruling Chiefs* 177- 8).

Mary Kawena Pukui explains how the fishing kapu worked in the district of Kaʻū on the Big Island both to allow people to use the resources and to insure a continuous supply:

> There was never a time when all fishing was tabu. When inshore fishing was tabu (kapu), deep sea fishing (lawaiʻa-o-kai-uli) was permitted and vice versa. Summer was the time when fish were most abundant and therefore the permitted time for inshore fishing. Salt was gathered at this time, also, and large quantities of fish were dried. …-In winter, deep sea fishing was permitted. …-A tabu for the inshore fishing covered also all the growths in that area, the seaweeds and shellfish, as well as the fish. When the kahuna had examined the inshore area and noted the condition of the animal and plant growths, and decided that they were ready for use, that is, that the new growth had had a chance to mature and become established, he so reported to the chief of the area, and the chief ended the tabu. For several days it remained the right of the chief to have all the sea foods that were gathered, according to his orders, reserved for his use, and that of his household and retinue. After this, a lesser number of days were the privilege of the konohiki. Following this period the area was declared open (noa) to the use of all. (Titcomb 14)

In 1839 King Kamehameha III divided up ancient fishing rights, giving "one portion of them to the common people, another portion to the landlords [konohiki], and a portion he reserves for himself." He kept for himself "certain species from the fishing grounds seaward of the reefs" (MacKenzie 174). The fishing grounds outside the coral reefs were open to all – "the Kilohee ground [area where heʻe, or octopi were spotted and caught using a hook and line], the Luhee ground [area

where he‘e were too deep to be seen but were caught with cowry shell lures], the Malolo [flying fish] ground, together with the ocean beyond" (174). The konohiki, or overseer, of an ahupua‘a was given the right to regulate fishing in the waters adjoining his ahupua‘a "from the beach at low watermark to the edge of the reefs and, where there was no reef, to one mile seaward of the beach" (175). "The konohiki could regulate fishing within these fisheries by reserving aside or placing a kapu on one specific type of fish for [his] exclusive use; or after consultation with the tenants, by prohibiting fishing during certain months of the year and during the fishing season, taking from each tenant one-third of the fish caught in the fishery" (175). Conflicts sometimes occurred between the konohiki and tenants, and had to be resolved in court.

Kapu on catching or eating a certain kind of fish might apply to a family if the family's ‘aumakua, or ancestral god, had a fish form. For example, members of the mo‘o, or lizard, lineage avoided eating ‘o‘opu, or goby fish, a sea form of the lizard, for fear of eating an ancestor or a family member whose spirit had entered the fish after death. Other families avoided eating shark or eel or other sea creatures or plants for the same reason. The breaking of the kapu was believed to cause sickness or death. The transformation of people into ancestral animal form, which is the basis for this kapu, is common in traditional Hawaiian stories. Animals and plants were of the same order of being as people, not separate and inferior as in the mythologies of Christianity and European Science. A person could befriend, speak with, and be helped by a fish, as in the story of Puniakai‘a; or turn into a fish, as in the story of ‘Ai‘ai or in the story of Nihooleki where the hero and his friend, the pig-god Kamapua‘a, dive into the water at Kaua‘i and surface at O‘ahu, having traveled from one island to the other in their fish forms. (One of the forms of Kamapua‘a, lit. "Pig-child," was the humuhumu-nukunuku-a-pua‘a, a trigger fish, lit. "humuhumu with a snout like a pig's".) Whatever the religious or sociological reasons for the kapu on eating fish, the end result was that certain families protected and cared for certain species of fish or other animals and plants with which they shared ancestral connections, and in turn, these ‘aumākua protected and cared for the families. (Conservation methods similar to those practiced in Hawai‘i have been noted on islands throughout the Pacific. For example, see Tomoya 22.)

Like the fishing kapu with its threat of the death penalty, narratives could be used to frighten people into obeying the rules of conservation:

> On O‘ahu there lived a woman who was noted for her ability to catch squid, of which the chiefs of high rank were fond. Any person who could catch a lot of squid was in demand. One day a great luau was to be given by a chief, and he wanted some squid, so he sent some of his men in search of someone who could catch squid. They brought the woman to him. He told her he wanted squid from a certain reef and asked her if she could catch some for him. She said she could catch all he wanted.
>
> She went down to the beach at the place designated by the chief, but before she entered the water, an old man met her. He told her the rules of the place: she was supposed to catch only a certain number and when she had caught that number she should go home, or something would be sure to happen to her. She called for her daughter, who had followed her, and told her daughter to come with her into the water. Another thing the old man told her was to go home when she said she would and not to stop for anything. The lady caught all she had been allowed by the old man, but she kept on fishing until she had more than she could handle. She sent her daughter to shore with half the load and told her she was going home, but instead she remained, for she saw a huge squid she wanted to get. Just then a large shark came and bit off her legs. She yelled for help. Her daughter came to her rescue, but too late. The woman died from the loss of blood and the shock. When the people examined her later, they found one deep gash on her right arm made by one of the shark’s teeth. They knew that it was done by a shark who guarded that particular reef. After that incident they named the place Paumalū …. (McAllister 151). [The name “Paumalū,” a land section on O‘ahu’s North Shore including Sunset Beach, means “taken secretly or illegally.”]

The fair distribution of the catch was always a concern of the community. The first fish was usually offered to the fishing ‘aumākua on a kū‘ula, or fishing shrine. Also called a ko‘a, the shrine could be a stone, a pile of stones, or a stone platform near shore. Sometimes there were two shrines, one for the male ‘aumakua and one for the female.

After the offering to the ‘aumākua, the catch was shared with the fisher’s relatives. When fishing required more than one person, the catch was distributed among all involved. Kamakau describes the

division of the catch after fishing with a bag net, which required a team of workers: "When the canoe fleet reached shore, fish would be given to the divers and the helpers: to those who had gotten the nets ready on land; to those who had set the net for the fish to enter the papa [middle portion of a bag net], and to those on the canoe which had carried the nets. When the fish was distributed, the largest portion went to the fisherman. His wife also got a large share for herself and her relatives. She got several canoe loads, for she had a major right (kuleana nui) in the net" (Kamakau, *Works* 64). The fisherman also gave fish to those who had provided him with equipment – lines, nets, and canoes. The fair distribution of food was a Polynesian tradition that could be very exacting in practice. Te Rangi Hiroa describes the distribution of fish after a community effort with nets in the Cook Islands:

> The head fisherman took the large fish of a similar kind and laid out one for each family [involved in the fishing]. He then added fish in turn to each heap until the pile was exhausted. Chiefly families were given priority in distribution of the better or larger fish, and a family of greater numerical numbers might be given a few extra. The official distributor used his own judgment based on a thorough knowledge of the number and status of the various families. No squabbling took place at the distribution, but persons who felt that they had not received their just due might nurse a grudge that flared into acts of hostility. The customary method of distribution is still carried out, and it is characteristic of Polynesian hospitality to give shares to resident Europeans even though they may not assist in the fishing operations. (*Arts and Crafts of the Cook Island* 209)

If the fishing was done for or by an ali‘i, the fish belonged to him and he had the right to distribute the catch, but he was obligated to do so generously. Kamehameha was noted for being generous with his catch: "He would often go out with his fishermen to Kekaha off Ka‘elehuluhulu [North Kona] and when there had been a great catch of aku or ‘ahi he would give it away to the chiefs and people, the cultivators and canoe makers" (Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 203). On the other hand, the following story from "The Despotic Chiefs of Ka‘ū," told by Kali‘ihue Alakaihu, tells of the fate of a greedy chief:

> A greedy chief was Ha-la-e-a. Every day he visited the fleet

> of fishing canoes and took all the fish for himself and his retainers. Then he would hold a feast, carousing and often wantonly wasting the food. As for the fishermen, they were obliged to catch the fish without ever having any to take home to their families. …This conduct of the chief greatly vexed the common people and they sought means to rid themselves of his oppression. They were tired of hearing the voice of their chief crying, "The fish is mine! Give me the fish!"
>
> At last came the season of the ʻahi, and the head fishermen were summoned to accompany their chief to the fishing-grounds. So the fishermen gathered together and prepared their canoes, looking after the nets, the bait, and whatever else was required for the expedition. Then they secretly met and agreed they would deposit all the fish in the chief's canoe and return to shore without even a backward glance. On the appointed day, the canoes came from Wai-ʻahu-kini [shelter on the Kona side of Ka Lae] to Ke-au-hou [in Kaʻū, near the Puna district]. When the first canoe-load of fish was conveyed to the chief's canoe, the voice of the chief could be heard shouting, "Bring me the fish! Bring me the fish!" But when the second, third, fourth, fifth, and the succeeding canoes had deposited their loads into the chief's canoe, and he saw his canoe was in danger of being swamped, he called out, "The chief has fish enough!" "Not so!" cried the men. "Here is all the fish the chief desires!" They piled in the last load and the chief's canoe sank rapidly. The chief looked about for help, but all the canoes had gone back to land. So perished Ha-la-e-a in the sea, surrounded by the objects of his greed. (Pukui *Folktales* 74-75)

In the story of Ruatapu from "Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands," an ariki of Mauke named Moenau, notorious for his greed, is also killed: "He would seldom go fishing, but would go down to the beach and meet the canoes coming in from fishing. He would then help himself to any fish he fancied, often taking all the fish from one canoe and leaving the owner to go home hungry without any fish for his family." Finally, two men lured Moenau into a trap with an offer of taro and fish. When he sat down on their snare, they caught him by the testicles and pulled the rope tight, then speared him to death and threw his body into a cave (Low 173-174).

Te Rangi Hiroa reports a similar Rarotongan story, where the

punihsment is exile rather than death. A greedy chief would sit by a path and wait for fishermen to return; the passing fishermen were obliged to open their baskets and allow him to pick out the best fish.

> His method was to hold up one finger and say, "Give me a fish for this." If there were any fish left when he had exhausted both hands, he started on his toes. The people prepared to rise against him, but one of his leading mataiapo [district chief] conveyed a warning to him in a subtle manner. He asked the chief to accompany him on a walk through the village to see his people; but as the two men approached each house, its door was closed against the chief. At the end of the village, the *mataiapo* said to him "You see the feeling of the people against you. My advice is that you go before anything happens." That night the chief fled with his wife to another village. (*Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands* 209-10)

Lt. David Porter, in *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean* (1822), reported a similar story in the Marquesas Islands, where a chief of Taiohae was expelled because he was "a notorious glutton": His offense…was the frequent waylaying of the poorer class on their return from fishing and taking from them fish: they therefore rose in a body and drove him from the valley" (Thomas 103).

The story of ʻAiʻai suggests that generosity in distributing the catch should extend even to strangers. At Koanui, a fishing ground outside of Maʻulili Bay near Kīpahulu on the southeast coast of Maui, ʻAiʻai is said to have given his first catch to an unsuccessful fisherman who drifted by. ʻAiʻai put the man in charge of the fishing ground and told him, "When you come here to fish and see a man approach you in a canoe and float alongside you, if you have already caught a fish, give it to him as I have done to you, without regret, and thus get a good name for yourself and be known as a generous man. If you follow this advice, great benefits will come to you and your relations." A similar customary generosity was also reported in Samoa: "Fishermen, on coming in, must give a fish or a portion of fish to anyone they meet in the water of the lagoon or on the shore" (Te Rangi Hiroa, *Samoan Material Culture* 519).

Titcomb says that in old Hawaiʻi any person, even a child, was allowed to walk up to a pile of fish and take one, as long as it was for his or her own use: "It was thought displeasing to the gods to demand

the return of fish taken without the right" (8). This practice of feeding strangers received the sanction of law during the reign of the Oʻahu aliʻi Kualiʻi Kunuiakea Kuikealaikauaokalani. According to the kanawai (law) Niʻaupiʻo Kolowalu, "farmers and fishermen had to welcome strangers and feed the hungry. If a man said he was hungry, he must be fed. If he invoked this kanawai, then the food became dedicated and could not be withheld by the person whose food it was – it was lost to him through the kanawai, and he had to give it up. But a person who invoked this law of the king took care that he invoked it rightly, lest the punishment should be upon himself. If he invoked the kanawai only to rob another of food and provisions, then the burden of the punishment would rebound upon himself. The wrongdoer who had refused him food, and who had been about to die because of that, was released" (Kamakau, *People* 14). The taking of food from others had to be for need; pili wale – "living off others" – was discouraged. In the story "Nā Piliwale" (Wichman 18-25), two supernatural sisters, who gluttonously devour the food of their hosts, are tricked into exposing themselves to sunlight, which turns them into two rocks still pointed out today.

The ideal of sharing the catch was not always the practice. Kamakau notes that a "bad" person who did not want to share his or her heʻe (octopus) catch with others, would hide part of it in the sea and after the dividing was over, would go back out to get the hidden portion (*Works* 71). Furthermore, although the god ʻAiʻai shared his knowledge of fishing with all the people, Hawaiian and other Pacific island fishermen often guarded their rights to certain fishing grounds and kept their techniques and fishing spots secret. Kamakau says Hawaiian fishermen would sometimes paddle out of sight before pulling up their catches so that no one would know exactly where the fish were taken: "In this way those who had secret fishing grounds kept their locations from becoming common knowledge. That is why most of the fishing grounds of ka poʻe kahiko are unknown to their descendants and their locations have been lost" (*Works* 79).

But while secrecy and greed were not unheard of, the sharing of the catch was the norm. The sharing took place not just within a fishing community living along the coast, but between the members of an extended family community, or ʻohana, some of whom lived on the coast and fished, and some of whom lived in the uplands and farmed or gathered food from the forest:

ʻOhana living inland (ko kula uka), raising taro, bananas, wauke

> (for tapa, or barkcloth, making), and olonā [for cordage], and needing gourds, coconuts and marine foods, would take a gift to some ʻohana living near the shore (ko kula kai) and in return would receive fish or whatever was needed. The fisherman needing poi or ʻawa [a shrub used for making a narcotic drink] would take fish, squid, or lobster upland to a household known to have taro, and would return with his kalo (taro) or paʻi-taʻi (hard poi). A woman from seaward, wanting some medicinal plant, or some sugar cane perhaps, growing on the land of a relative living inland would take with her a basket of shellfish or some edible seaweed and would return with her stalks of cane and her medicinal plants. In other words, it was the ʻohana that constituted the community within which the economic life moved. (Handy and Pukui 6)

The saying "O ko-a-uka, o ko-a-kai" ("The uplander, the lowlander") meant "The upland native gives his products to his lowland kinsman, and the lowlander to his upland kinsman" (Handy and Pukui 183). A similar system of exchange existed between inland dwellers and coastal dwellers on other Pacific islands, with the food products of the land (the Hawaiian ʻai) complementing the food products of the sea (the Hawaiian iʻa). Bronislaw Malinowski notes in the Trobriand Islands off Papua New Guinea "fishing can be done all year round, and has developed into a regular trade, as the villagers are often requested by an inland community to provide fish in exchange for yams" (88).

This interdependence of land and sea, embodying the ideal health and integrity of extended island families, is often represented in traditional Hawaiian stories by a pair of characters (a mother and a son, a husband and a wife, a brother and a sister, two brothers), one living in the uplands and one living near the sea, sharing their products with each other. Kūʻula-kai, the fisherman, and Kūʻula-uka, the farmer, could live in harmony, because their domains did not overlap – unlike the domains of the Biblical brothers, Abel the sheepherder and Cain the farmer, who, according to one commentator, may have come into conflict over land use.

The punishment of stingy behavior is a common motif in traditional stories. For example, after his wife neglects to welcome and feed the pig demi-god Kamapuaʻa, the fisherman Nihooleki abandons his wife on Kauaʻi and returns to Oʻahu. In the story of Ke-ahi-a-Kahoe

("The fire of Kahoe" – a peak in the Koʻolau mountains overlooking Kāneʻohe), Pahu, a stingy fisherman of Heʻeia, gives his brother .Kahoe, a generous farmer of Haʻikū, "only the left over bait fish"; Kahoe discovers the stinginess. When famine comes, the stingy brother cannot ask the generous brother for food and must watch in silence from a distance the smoke from Kahoe's cooking fire (Sterling and Summers 206).

The following story describes a trick played on a stingy woman who doesn't share her catch with her family:

> Keawe and his wife Keanahaki lived happily many years ago in Nāmakalele ("the flying eyes"), a small land section in Moanalua Valley on Oʻahu. Daily he went to the mountains to cut wood, gather plants, and do other chores. As soon as he could, he hurried home and then out to sea to fish. His whole day was filled in and he had little time for his family, which was steadily increasing. This routine life continued until after the birth of his sixth child. One day his wife said to him, "While you go to the mountains, I will fish." Keawe agreed and then went to the mountains as usual, and Keanahaki started for the sea. On her way she felt peculiar and realized that another self was coming to her. Halfway down she stopped and chanted, asking that the lower portion of her body be made stationary while the upper portion went to sea to fish. She then continued to the shore, where she stood and again chanted, telling her right eye to fly to the sea and bring certain fish, then to her left eye to fly in another direction and catch other fish. After some time, she called her right eye to return. It fluttered back, bringing many fish. Later the left eye returned bringing more fish. These she divided into portions for her husband, children, and herself. Then she not only ate her share, but continued eating until only one fish remained. This she took home. When her husband saw this small catch, he naturally was disappointed. "Was this all your were able to catch?" he asked. "Yes," she replied.
>
> For many consecutive times Keanahaki returned with only one fish, which greatly dissatisfied Keawe. He reasoned that a person could not continually have such bad luck. Then he learned from a friend that his wife was no normal being. She had unusual powers, he was told. As she stood by the shore,

her eyes out at sea caught the fish. If Keawe would gather leaves from the ipu-ʻawaʻawa (a type of gourd, with bitter pulp, grown on a vine; used medicinally), he would be able to catch and preserve the eyes of his wife, should he follow and watch her when she went fishing. So one day, Keawe pretended to go to the mountains as usual, then waited and watched for his wife to go fishing. When she did, he followed her. As soon as Keanahaki got to the shore, she again chanted for her right eye to fly over the sea and fish for certain fish and for her left eye to fly in another direction and bring in other fish. Watching her, Keawe was astounded. He came very close to his wife, but she could not see him, for her eyes were gone. When she called to her eyes to return, he caught them as they flew back with the fish. Carefully he wrapped each eye in some leaves of the ipu-ʻawaʻawa. Then he gathered the fish and went home, while his wife stood on the shore calling for her eyes and wondering why they did not return. When Keawe reached his grass hut, his children gathered round and were proud of the catch their father had brought in. He left them admiring the fish and went to the hut to hide the eyes. He did not know that the smallest child, the sixth, had noticed the small bundle and followed and watched his father place it on a high ledge.

In the meantime, Keanahaki waiting on the beach for her eyes to return became suspicious of what had occurred. Stumbling and groping, she slowly found her way home. There her six children gathered around. She asked them if their father had returned. "Did he bring anything with him?" "Yes," they replied, "a large mess of fish." "Didn't he have anything else? A small bundle that he didn't open?" No, five of them had seen nothing more; but the smallest told his mother he had seen his father with a small bundle wrapped in leaves and watched him place it on a high ledge. "Show me where," the mother said, and the youngster led her to the place. After groping about Keanahaki found and restored her eyes to their sockets. (McAllister 94-5)

The flying eyes suggest the importance of the eyes in fishing, some methods requiring a kilo, or spotter, stationed on a headland overlooking the sea or sometimes on a canoe at sea. The kilo watched for ripples or patches of different colors or reflections in the sea surface or on the sea bottom in shallow water to locate schools of fish and direct

the fishermen toward them. A good kilo could spot a school a mile away. For this work, the kilo received a large share of the fish caught. In this story of Nāmakalele, however, the unnaturalness of the flying eyes also seems to suggest the unnaturalness of the mother's behavior – her stinginess toward her own family.

The stingy wife motif is also found in the story of Kū-ka-ʻōhiʻa-a-ka-Laka (a forest god, one of the ʻaumakua of canoe carvers):

> Kūkaʻōhiʻaakalaka ("Kū, the ʻōhiʻa tree of the forest") was the brother, Kauakuahine ("The sister rain") was the sister. They came from Kahiki and lived in Hawaiʻi, the sister in ʻŌlaʻa with her husband and the brother in Keaʻau with his wife. The brother had no children, the sister had a flock of them. Her husband was a farmer in ʻŌlaʻa, the brother was a fisherman at Keaʻau. The sister often brought vegetables to the shore for her brother and took back fish for her family. The brother told his wife to give his sister an abundance of dried fish when she came with the vegetables. The wife hated to give up the fish and laid it under the sleeping mats. While the husband was out fishing, the sister came with vegetables and the wife said, "We have no fish, as you can see for yourself; all we have is salt." The sister went and gathered coarse seaweed to take the place of fish. Again she came with vegetables and went back without anything. She was lucky to get the seaweed.
>
> This constant stinginess of her sister-in-law vexed the sister. It seemed to her useless to burden herself with carrying vegetables and take back in return only seaweed to her patient husband and children, and once when she came close to the house and her husband and children ran out to meet her, she gave them each a slap and changed them into rats, the husband into a large rat and the children into young rats. She herself became a spring of water where fine rain fell. While the brother was out fishing, the gods showed him how stingy his wife had been and how his sister had become a spring of water and her family had changed into rats. He was much distressed and returned home and asked his wife, "Did you give fish to our dear sister?" "Yes, I always give her fish." He saw the dried fish laid flat beneath the sleeping mats and what a heap of them there were. He was very angry with his wife. "What a cruel woman you are! you have brought misfortune upon our little sister!" And with many

words of reproach, he beat his wife to death.

He ascended to his sister's place in ʻŌlaʻa and saw the rats scampering about where the house had stood, and he shed tears of love for his brother-in-law and the children. He went straight to the spring, plunged in headlong, and was changed into an ʻōhiʻa tree. Only two blossoms this tree bears to this day, and when a branch is broken off, blood flows from the body of the tree. (Pukui *Folktales* 19-20)

The story implies that stinginess makes human life, which is intrinsically communal, impossible: because of the stingy wife, the people in the story become violent and are transformed into nonhuman beings – rats, a spring, a tree. The rat in one Hawaiian tradition is characterized as "an indolent, ill-bred fellow who depended on his wit in thieving" ("'Iole the Rat and Pueo the Owl" in Pukui *Folktales* 51-52). Thus, the metamorphoses of Kauakuahine's husband and children into rats also suggests that antisocial behavior and social breakdown result from stinginess. Alternately, the rat is known in tradition as a savior. When the stingy Makaliʻi gathered up all the food of the land into a net, causing a famine, the rat nibbled through the cord of the net, releasing the food and scattering it across the land (Beckwith 433 ff.)

Of the denizens of the sea, none captured the imaginations of Hawaiians as did the shark. Many shark stories are told in Hawaiʻi, and there are many traditional beliefs about sharks.

Hawaiians fished for and ate two varieties of sharks that did not eat humans, the hammerhead and the white-tipped shark (Titcomb 107). Shark teeth were used to make weapons and tools for cutting, and sharkskin was made into drumheads. According to J.D. Holt, a young boy with "the mana of innocence" was chosen "to tie ropes of braided coconut fiber around the tail of a shark. The shark would be dragged out of the sea so that its skin could be used for making drums" ("Rainbow Under Water," *Recollections*).

The niuhi (tiger or great white shark) was hunted in a rite of passage for warriors. (See Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 98-99.)

Sharks were also gods and ʻaumākua, or family gods. (See Appendix 2, "Hawaiian Shark ʻAumākua.") Ancestral shark-gods called manō kumapaʻa were humans given their shark forms by the gods and worshiped by their descendants (Kamakau *Works* 74). Kamohoaliʻi, the king shark of Hawaiʻi, and Kaʻahupāhau, the queen shark of Oʻahu,

who lived at Puʻuloa, were manō kumapaʻa. Both forbid their followers to eat humans.

A manō kanaka, or shark-man, born of a shark god and a woman, was capable of transforming himself from shark to human and back. "Nanaue" tells the story of one who was fed meat by his grandfather, against the prohibition of his father, Kamohoaliʻi. Nanaue became ravenous for flesh and followed people down to the sea and ate them. When the identity of such a shark-man was discovered (by a shark mouth on his back), he was put to death.

An ʻaumakua shark embodied the spirit of a person deified after death by his or her family. This ʻaumakua was a helper at sea who could calm rough waters, help with fishing, guide lost canoes back to shore, or drive off man-eaters. Families with shark ʻaumākua knew them by appearance and name and where they lived in sea caves. The kahu, or caretaker, fed them ʻawa and cleaned the barnacles off their bodies and eyes. Such a deified shark was also called ʻunihipili and could be sent by a family to take revenge on enemies.

Thus while some sharks were worshipped as gods and ʻaumākua, others were greatly feared: "Some were evil, some were man-eaters, some were as fierce and untameable as lions, who even devoured their own kahu who had transfigured and deified them" (Kamakau, *People* 76). "Punia" tells of a shark who devours Leimakani; Leimakani's son, Punia, avenges his father by killing the shark.

Dennis Kawaharada
Honolulu 2006

NOTE: For fishing and shark traditions of Oaʻhu, see *Ancient Oʻahu: Stories from Fornander and Thrum*; or the online version, *Traditions of O'ahu: Stories of an Ancient Island*, at http://apdl.kcc.hawaii.edu/~oahu/.

Kū‘ula-kai

Moke Manu

Translated by Moses Nakuina

Kū‘ula-kai and his wife Hina-puku-i‘a lived at Leho‘ula in the land of Aleamai, Hāna, Maui.[1] Nothing is known of their parents, but tradition tells us that Kū‘ula, his wife Hina, their son ‘Ai‘ai, and Kū‘ula-uka, a younger brother, lived together for a time at Leho‘ula; then the brothers divided their work between them, with Kū‘ula-uka choosing farming, from the seashore to the mountain-top, and Kū‘ula-kai choosing fishing, from the pebbly shore to the ocean depths. After this division of labor, Kū‘ula-uka went up to the mountains to live and met a woman known as La-ea – also called Hina-ulu-‘ōhi‘a, a sister of Kū‘ula’s wife Hina-puku-i‘a. These two sisters had three brothers named Mokuhāli‘i, Kūpā‘aike‘e, and Kū-pulupulu-i-ka-nahele, who were the ancient gods of the canoe-making priests – nā akua ‘aumākua o ka po‘e kahuna kālai wa‘a.[2]

Kū‘ula had a human body, but was possessed with mana kupua, or supernatural powers, in directing and controlling the fish of the sea. While Kū‘ula and his wife were living at Leho‘ula, he devoted all his time to his chosen vocation of fishing. His first work was to construct a fishpond handy to his house, but near the shore where the surf breaks, and he stocked this pond with all kinds of fish.[3] Upon a rocky platform, he also built a house, which he called by his own name, Kū‘ula, to be sacred for the fishing kapu. Here he offered the first fish caught to the fish god, and because of his observances, fish were obedient (laka loa) to him; all he had to do was to say the word, and fish would appear. This was reported all over Hāna.

Kamohoali‘i, the ali‘i, was then living at Wānanalua, the land on which Ka‘uiki Hill stands. When he heard about the fishpond, he appointed Kū‘ula as his head fisherman. From this well-stocked pond, the ali‘i’s table was regularly supplied with all rare varieties, whether in or out of season. Kū‘ula was his mainstay for seafood and was consequently held in high esteem by Kamohoali‘i. They lived without any disagreement for many years.

During this agreeable period, Kūʻula's wife gave birth to a son who was named ʻAiʻai-a-Kūʻula. The child was brought up properly according to the customs of those days. When he was old enough to take care for himself, an unusual event occurred.

A large puhi called Koona lived at Wailau, on the windward side of the island of Molokaʻi. This eel was worshiped by the people of Wailau, and they never tired of telling about the mighty things their god did, for example, that a big shark came to Wailau and gave it battle, and during the fight the puhi caused a part of the rocky cliff to fall upon and kill the manō. A cave was thus formed, with a depth of about five fathoms; and that large opening is there to this day, situated a little above the sea and close to the rocky fort where the well known Kapepeekauila lived.[4] This puhi then left Wailau and came to live near Aleamai, in Hāna, in a sea cave called Ka-puka-ulua ("The ulua hole"), some distance out from the ʻĀlau rocks; it came to break into and rob the pond that Kūʻula had built and stocked with fish.

Kūʻula was surprised to see his pond stock disappearing, so he watched all day and night, and at last, about daybreak, saw a large puhi come in through the makai wall of the pond. Then he knew the puhi was taking his fish and began devising a way to catch and kill it; but after he consulted with his wife, they decided to let their son ʻAiʻai try to capture and kill the thief. When ʻAiʻai was told about the puhi, he sent word to the people of Aleamai and the people of Haneoʻo to make two ropes several hundreds of fathoms long from hau tree bark. When the ropes were ready, two canoes went out, one from Aleamai and one from Haneoʻo, with ʻAiʻai-a-Kūʻula in one of them. He had put two large stones in the canoe and carried with him a hōkeo, or fishing-gear gourd, containing a large fishhook called Manaiakalani.[5]

When the canoes had proceeded far out to sea, ʻAiʻai determined their position by landmarks; then looking down into the water and finding the right place, he told the paddlers to stop. He stood up in the canoe, took one of the stones in his hands, and dove into the water. The stone took him down rapidly to the bottom, where he saw a big cave opening right before him, with ulua and other deep-sea fish scurrying about the entrance. Certain that this was the hole where the puhi lived, he surfaced and climbed into his canoe, and after resting for a moment, he opened the hōkeo, took out the hook Manaiakalani, and tied the hau ropes to it. He took a long stick and placed at the end of it the hook

baited with a preparation of coconut and other substances attractive to fish.[6] Before taking his second dive, he told those on the canoes that if he succeeded in hooking the puhi, he would give the ropes several quick jerks. Then he picked up the other stone, dove down into the sea again, and placed the hook in the cave while murmuring a few incantations in the name of his parents. When he knew the puhi was hooked, he gave the ropes several quick jerks. He surfaced shortly and climbed into one of the canoes. The two canoes paddled toward shore, each trailing a rope behind. He told those in the Haneoʻo canoe to paddle to Haneoʻo and Hāmoa and tell the people there to pull in the puhi; he told those in the Aleamai canoe to paddle to Lehoʻula and tell the people there to do the same. The two canoes set forth on their courses to the landings, and after going ashore, the crews gathered crowds of people at Hāmoa and at Lehoʻula to pull in the puhi, as ʻAiʻai had instructed.

ʻAiʻai ascended Ka-iwi-o-pele Hill and motioned to the people of both places to pull in the puhi. It was said the Aleamai people won over the much greater number from Haneoʻo, and they landed the puhi on the pāhoehoe stones at Lehoʻula. The people tried to kill the prize, but without success till ʻAiʻai came and threw three basalt stones (ʻalā) to kill it. The head was cut off and cooked in an imu. The bones of its jaw, with the mouth wide open, are seen to this day near shore, washed by the waves. (A rock formation resembles an open jaw.)

Kamaʻāina of the place say that all ʻalā near the imu in which the puhi was baked do not crack when heated (as they do elsewhere) because of the imu heating of ʻAiʻai's time. It is so even to this day. The iwikuamoʻo, or backbone, of this puhi is still lying on the pāhoehoe – a rocky formation, about thirty feet long exactly resembling the backbone of a puhi.[7] The killing of this puhi made ʻAiʻai famous among the people of Hāna. Its capture was the young boy's first attempt to follow his father's vocation, and his knowledge of fishing surprised the people.

After this event, the kahu of the slain puhi came over from Wailau, Molokaʻi, to investigate because the puhi's spirit had visited him one night in a dream and told him that his ʻaumakua had been killed at Hāna. Arriving at Wānanalua, the kahu became friends with one of the retainers of Kamohoaliʻi, the aliʻi of Hāna, and lived there a long time serving under the aliʻi, during which time he learned how the puhi had been caught and killed by ʻAiʻai, the son of Kūʻula and Hina-puku-iʻa. After learning this, he sought to kill the three of them in revenge.

This Molokaʻi man went one day to Kūʻula, without orders, and told

him the aliʻi had sent for fish. Kūʻula gave him an ulua, with a warning: "Go back to the aliʻi and tell him to cut off the head of the fish and cook it in the imu, and to cut up and salt and dry its flesh in the sun to preserve it, for 'This is Hāna, the starved land; Hāna of the scarce fish; the fish of Kama; the fish of Lanakila.' ('Eia o Hāna la he ʻāina aupehu; o Hāna kēia i ka iʻa iki; ka iʻa o Kama; ka iʻa o Lanakila')."

The man returned and gave the ulua to the aliʻi, who asked him, "Who gave you the fish?" and the man answered, "Kūʻula."

Then the Molokaʻi man saw his chance for revenge, so he told the aliʻi: "Your head fisherman told me to come back and tell you your head should be cut off and cooked in the imu, and the flesh of your body should be cut up and salted and dried in the sun."

Hearing this, the aliʻi was so angry with Kūʻula he ordered the Molokaʻi man to go and tell all the konohiki and people to go up into the mountains immediately, gather firewood, and place it around Kūʻula's house, for Kūʻula and his wife and child should be burned to death.

The aliʻi's order was carried out by all the konohiki and people, except those of Aleamai, who refused to obey the aliʻi's order, because Kūʻula had always lived peaceably among them. On days when they had no fish, he had supplied them freely.

When Kūʻula and his wife saw the people of Hāna bringing firewood and placing it around their house, they knew they were in trouble, so Kūʻula went to a place where taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and some gourds were growing. He asked the owner for three dry gourds and was told to take them. He took the gourds to his house and discussed with his wife his plan for the evil day to come. He told his son their house and his parents' bodies would be burned, but not to fear death or trouble himself when the people came to shut them in. After some thought, Kūʻula remembered giving the ulua to the aliʻi's retainer and was sure this retainer was to blame for this attack against himself.

He turned to his son and said: "Our child, ʻAiʻai-a-Kūʻula, if our house and our bodies are burned, look for the smoke when it goes straight up Kaiwiopele Hill. That will be your path out of the burning house – follow it till you find a cave where you will live. Take this hook called Manaiakalani[5] with you; also this pearl shell fishhook for called Kahuoi; this leho (a cowry shell lure for catching octopus) called Lehoʻula[8]; and this small sandstone from which I got my name, Kūʻula-au-a-Kūʻulakai. This stone is the progenitor of all the fish in the

sea. From this time forth, you will be the one to establish all the Kūʻula (stone altars for rites to attract fish and cause them to multiply) and the koʻa lawaiʻa (fishing grounds)[9] in the sea throughout the islands. Your name and the names of your parents shall be perpetuated through all generations to come. I hereby confer upon you all my power and knowledge. Whatever you desire, call on us and ask it in our names, and we will grant it. Soon we will leave this place and go into the sea to abide there forever; and you, our child, shall live here on land without worrying about anything that may happen to you. You will have the power to punish with death all those who have helped to burn us and our house. Whether aliʻi or makaʻāinana, all must die; now, let us calmly await our calamity." ʻAiʻai agreed to carry out all his father's instructions, from first to last, as a dutiful son.

Then the aliʻi's people came one day and caught Kūʻula and his family and tied their hands behind their backs, the evil-doer from Molokaʻi being there to aid in executing the aliʻi's cruel orders resulting from his deceit. Kūʻula and his family were taken into their house; he was tied to the pouhana (end post supporting the ridgepole), his wife was tied to the kai waena (middle post) of the house, and the boy, ʻAiʻai, was tied to one of the pou o manu (corner posts). Then the people went outside, barricaded the doorway with wood, and set the wood on fire. Men, women, and children watched the burning house with deep pity for the family within, and tears were streaming down their cheeks as they remembered Kūʻula's kindness during the time they had all lived together. The people didn't know why they had been ordered to burn this family and this house.

Before the fire was lit, the ropes which bound the captives had dropped from their hands. When the fire was raging all about the house and the flames were consuming everything, Kūʻula and his wife gave their last message to their son and left him. They departed from the house as quietly as the last breath leaves the body, and none of the people standing there saw from where, or how, Kūʻula and his wife left. ʻAiʻai was the only one that retained physical form. His parents' bodies were transformed by some miraculous power and entered the sea, taking with them all the fish swimming in and around Hāna, as well as all the seaweed, crabs, crawfish, and the various kinds of shellfish along the seashore, even the ʻopihi-kōʻele at the rocky beach. All the iʻa was gone. This was the first stroke of Kūʻula's revenge on the aliʻi and the people of Hāna who obeyed his mandate; they suffered greatly from the lack of seafood.

After Kū‘ula and his wife left the house, the three gourds exploded, one by one, from the heat, and all those watching the burning house believed the explosions were the bursting bodies of the three people inside. The flames shot up through the roof of the house, and the black smoke hovered above, then turned toward the front of Kaiwiopele Hill. The people saw ‘Ai‘ai ascend through the flames and walk upon the smoke toward the hill till he came to a small cave that opened to receive him.

As ‘Ai‘ai left the house, it burned fiercely, and ‘Ai‘ai called upon his father, as his father had instructed, to destroy by fire all those who had caught and bound the family and set the house on fire. As he finished his appeal, he saw the rippling of the wind on the sea and a misty rain coming with it, increasing as it came till it reached Leho‘ula, where it fanned the blazing fire so that the flames reached out into the crowd for those who had obeyed the ali‘i and the man from Moloka‘i who had caused the trouble, and consumed them all. Strangely, all those who had refused to participate in the burning of Kū‘ula and his family, though closer to the burning house, were uninjured. The tongues of fire reached out only for the guilty ones. Their charred bodies were left to show the people remaining the second stroke of Kū‘ula’s vengeance. Because of this selective destruction of the fire, some of the people doubted Kū‘ula and his wife had died, and much disputation arose among them on the subject.

After ‘Ai‘ai walked out through the flames and smoke to the cave, he stayed there through the night. The next morning, he left his hook, his pā, his leho, and his sandstone in the cave and walked to the road at Puilio, where he met several children amusing themselves by shooting arrows; one of the children befriended him and invited him home. ‘Ai‘ai accepted the invitation, and the boy and his parents treated him well, so ‘Ai‘ai remained with them for some days.

While ‘Ai‘ai was living there, the parents of the boy learned of the ali‘i’s order for all the people of Hāna to go fishing for hīnālea. The people obeyed the royal order, but when they went down to the shore with their fishing baskets,[10] they looked around for ueue, the usual bait, which was to be pounded up and put into the baskets, but they could not find any, nor any other bait material; nor could they see any fish in the sea. “Why?” they wondered. Because Kū‘ula and his wife had taken away all the fish and everything pertaining to fishing.

Finding no bait, the people of Hāna pounded up limestone and

placed it in the baskets and swam out and set them. They watched and waited all day, but in vain, for not a single hīnālea was seen or caught. When night came, they went home empty-handed and came down again the next day, only to meet with the same result. The parents of the boy who had befriended ʻAiʻai were in this fishing party, in obedience to the aliʻi's orders. Seeing them go down daily to Haneoʻo, ʻAiʻai asked what was going on and they told him; so ʻAiʻai told his friend to come with him to the cave. There ʻAiʻai showed him the stone fish god Pōhaku-muone and said, "We can get fish with this stone without much work or trouble."

Then ʻAiʻai picked up the stone and they went down to Lehoʻula, and setting it down at a point facing the pond which his father had made, he repeated these words: "Ē Kūʻula, my father; Ē Hina, my mother, I place this stone here in your name, Kūʻula, which action will make your name and mine famous. I place my friend in charge of this Kūʻula stone, and he and his offspring hereafter will do and act in all things pertaining to it in our names."

Then he explained to his friend the duties and observances related to the stone and the benefits to be derived from them for influencing each kind of fish, as his friend desired. This was the first establishment of the koʻa Kūʻula on land – a place where a fisherman is obliged to offer his first catch to Kūʻula and Hina by taking two fish and placing them on the Kūʻula stone. Thus the boy ʻAiʻai first put into practice the fishing oblations established by his father at the place of ʻAiʻai's birth; but he was able to do this only through the mana kupua of his parents.[11]

When ʻAiʻai had finished calling on his parents and instructing his friend, he saw several persons walking along the Haneoʻo beach with their fishing baskets and setting them in the sea, but catching nothing. ʻAiʻai suggested he and his friend go over to witness this fishing effort. When they reached the people fishing, ʻAiʻai asked them, "What are those things you placed in the sea?" They answered, "Those are baskets for catching hīnālea, a fish our aliʻi craves; but we can't get any bait to catch the fish."

"Why not?" asked ʻAiʻai.

"Because Kūʻula and his family are dead, and all the fish along the beaches of Hāna have been taken away."

Then ʻAiʻai asked them for two baskets and told his friend to take the baskets and follow him. The two boys went to a little pool near the beach, and setting the baskets in it, ʻAiʻai called on his parents for hīnālea. As soon as he finished calling, the fish came in such great

numbers that the pool was overflowing with them. ʻAiʻai now told his friend to go home and tell his parents and relatives to come with baskets so they could gather the fish and carry the catch home. The boy's relatives should have the first pick, and the owners of the fishing baskets should have the next pick. His friend went quickly and brought his parents and relatives as directed. ʻAiʻai then took two fish and gave them to his friend to place on the koʻa Kūʻula they had established at Lehoʻula. ʻAiʻai also told his friend that before sunset on that day, they would hear Kamohoaliʻi, the aliʻi of Hāna, had choked to death on a fish.

After ʻAiʻai and his friend had made their offering at the koʻa Kūʻula, his friend's parents arrived at the pool where the fish were gathering. The parents were told to take all they desired, which they did, returning home happy for this liberal supply of fish obtained so effortlessly. The owners of the fishing baskets were then called and told to take all the fish they wished for themselves and for the aliʻi. When these people saw the great supply, they were glad and very surprised at the success of the two boys. The news of the reappearing fish spread throughout the district, and the people flocked to Haneoʻo in great numbers. They gathered hīnālea to their satisfaction and returned home rejoicing. Some of those who had given ʻAiʻai the fishing baskets returned with their bundles of fish to the aliʻi. When the aliʻi saw so many of the fish he craved, he became excited and grabbed one, intending to eat it raw (the usual way of eating hīnālea), but the fish slipped down his throat and got stuck there. His retainers tried to reach in and take it out, but they were unable to, and before sunset Kamohoaliʻi died.

The death of the aliʻi completed Kūʻula's revenge. The evil-doer from Molokaʻi and those who had obeyed the aliʻiʻs orders had been destroyed, and ʻAiʻai had triumphed over all his father's enemies.

NOTES

This story of Kūʻula-kai originally appeared in Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual* in 1901 and was reprinted in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk-Tales* in 1907. The story was translated and condensed by Moses K. Nakuina from an account in Hawaiian by Moke Manu, a legendary storyteller of Hawaiʻi. Moke Manu, born in 1837, is mentioned in a series of articles on "Fishing Lore" by A.D. Kahaulelio, which appeared in the newspaper *Kuʻokoʻa* in 1902. Manu's father was a tax assessor in Hāna.

A similar but shorter version of the tradition of Kūʻula-kai appears in Hawaiian, with English translation, in Fornander (Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing," 107-109). Kūʻula ("red Kū") was a fisherman who was possessed by the god Kū and given power over fish. (The color red was sacred to the gods, and reddish things became sacred to Kūʻula.) Kū ("upright" or "erect"), associated with male power, is often paired with Hina ("prostrate"), a goddess associated with female fecundity, growing things, and the moon and setting sun (Beckwith 12-13). Kamakau says Kūʻula, "a great fisherman of ancient times," was "the main ʻaumakua [god] of fishermen," but not the only one. Other ʻaumākua included "Hinahele, to whom the ʻohua fish in the sea were said to belong; Kānemakua, one of the forms of [the god] Kāne in the sphere of fishing, who 'possessed' (noho maluna) a man by the name of Kānemakua in ancient times; 'the coconut shell of Kapukapu,' ka pūniu o Kapukapu; and, for some fishermen Kinilau, and for others, Kanekoʻa. There were a great many fishing ʻaumākua, each related to his descendants, and each raised above [all others] by his own descendants" (*The Works* 61). Malo says the gods worshiped by fishermen "were various and numerous, each [fisherman] worshiping the god of his choice." (208). "Kāneaukai" in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales* (250-54) tells the story of a fishing god who instructs two kahuna (priests) in setting up a rock and a piece of wood sacred to him at Waimea Bay on Oʻahu to insure the supply of fish. Some of these fishing gods, like Kūʻula-kai, were of local origin – actual Hawaiian fishermen deified; others, like Kinilau (Tinirau in Tahiti and New Zealand, Tingilau in Samoa), were worshiped as fishing gods on other Pacific islands and were brought to Hawaiʻi by early settlers.

Kūʻula-kai and Fishponds

In Moke Manu's version of the tradition of Kūʻula-kai, Kūʻula-kai is called the Hawaiian god of fishing.

A couple of puzzling questions emerge from this designation. First, Kūʻula-kai is unheard of as a fishing god in the rest of Polynesia. Kū was traditionally a war god. Kanaloa was the god of the ocean and the patron of fishing in the Marquesas and Society Islands (Tanaoa, or Taʻaroa). How then did Kū, in the form of Kūʻula-kai, become the main god of fishing in Hawaiʻi?

From Moke Manu's version we learn that nothing is known of Kūʻula-kai's genealogy, suggesting that perhaps he was a makaʻainana,

or commoner. After his untimely death, he became deified as a fishing god. Thus he is a local addition to the Hawaiian pantheon of gods, not a god brought by settlers from the South Pacific. He is associated with fishponds, a Hawaiian innovation not found in other islands of the Pacific.

Fishponds were a relatively late development in Hawaiian culture. Based on references to fishponds in traditions from the 14th to 19th century, William Kikuchi speculates that fishponds appeared in the Hawaiian Islands sometime prior to the 14th century. Based on the genealogy of chiefs who had fishponds built, Patrick Kirch says the earliest ponds may have been built in the 14th century. Kirch places this development in what he calls the expansion period of Hawaiian culture, from 1100 to 1650 A.D. During this period:

a. The Hawaiian population grew into the hundreds of thousands.

b. Food production expanded with the development of irrigation works, dry-land field systems, and fishponds.

c. Class divisions widened, with the aliʻi class coming to dominate the makaʻāinana, or working class and gaining proportionately more wealth and power.

As Kirch writes "Success in warfare provided opportunities for increasingly powerful chiefs to annex conquered lands and to place the control of ahupuaʻa units in the hands of junior aliʻi" (306). He suggests that religion was also changing with the elaboration of the Kū cult and the building of larger heiau.

The culminating figure in this rise of ruling chiefs was Kamehameha, whose war god was Kū kaʻili moku ("Kū, the island-snatcher"), a manifestation of the war god Kū. This war god is said to have been brought to Hawaiʻi by Pāʻao during the 12th or 13th century and passed down to Kamehemeha through Liloa and ʻUmi.

Given these developments, the relationship between the god Kū and fishponds becomes clearer. Only powerful chiefs who could command many workers could have built and maintained the largest of the fishponds. In Thomas Wahiako's version of the Kūʻula tradition (Beckwith 20-22), the pond at Lehoʻula beach is said to have had walls twenty feet thick and ten feet high with an opening to let fish enter and exit. Kamakau says that some of the fishponds would have required thousands of workers to build and maintain. Kikuchi notes that the large fishponds eventually served as status symbols for chiefs, because they

allowed the chiefs to enjoy "select fish on call." "Fishponds became symbols of chiefly right to conspicuous consumption and to ownership of land and its resources" (299).

Since the power of the chiefs came through their god Kū, the fruits of their conquests – i.e., land and fishing rights, as well as innovations in production of food such as fishponds which added both to their food supply and their status, also became associated with the mana of Kū.

Kūʻula-kai was perhaps an honorific name given to the man who built the first fishpond. His power of invention as well as his power to attract fish are seen as deriving from Kū. The offshore fishing grounds called koʻa, which also came to under the ownership of aliʻi and were attached to ahupuaʻa were said to have been established by Kūʻula-kai's son ʻAiʻai. Through the power of Kū, ʻAiʻai was able to locate these fishing grounds; or he established them by placing in the ocean stones which attracted fish. Puniaiki, the grandson of Kūʻula-kai became successful at aku fishing, another activity associated with the aliʻi class because it required canoes, paddlers, and equipment.

In Moke Manu's story, the name Kūʻula is given not only to a god of fishing, Kūʻula-kai, but a god of farming as well, Kūʻula-uka. While Kūʻula-uka, the brother of Kūʻula-kai, never became widely accepted as a god of farmers, the farmer going into the forest to cut wood and fashion it into an ʻoʻo, or digging stick (the main implement for farming) prayed to Kū. And Kū also became the god of another upland activity – cutting trees for canoe-building. Thus in Moke Manu's account, Kūʻula-uka is said to be a brother-in-law of the canoe-building aumākua, who have names beginnning with Kū. Kamakau mentions six Kū gods as gods of canoe-building.

This association of Kū with the upland forest is a uniquely Hawaiian development. Peter Buck notes that elsewhere in Polynesia, Kāne rules the forests and is the god of canoe-building and carpentry. Buck wrote in 1964, "It is therefore evident that the Hawaiian ancestors confused the functions of the two gods and erroneously transferred the functions of Kāne to Kū." But was this confusion, or part of coherent political and religious developments that took place in Hawaiʻi after Kū-kaʻilimoku was introduced to Hawaiʻi. As the aliʻi took control of the forest lands and built large canoes for interisland travel and for fishing, it seems natural that the god that gave the aliʻi the power to take control of the forests through conquest should also rule the forests.

Whether this was the case or not, we can see that what was originally a war god became a deity of peaceful arts as well, such as

fishing, farming, and canoe building. There are prayers to Kū asking for rain, suggesting that Kū was also becoming a god of rain and fertility. Kū's association with the digging stick, the main and only implement of Hawaiian farming, suggests that Kū's domain was beginning to include farming. Kū is associated with two food plants, the breadfruit and the coconut, which Handy believed to be late introductions to Hawai'i (*Native Planter*), and which would link the god with the migrations of the 12th-13th century, the period when Kūka'ilimoku is said to have come to Hawaii.

A similar phenomenon of war god becoming god associated with agriculture occurred in Tahiti with the war god 'Oro. Handy notes in *Polynesian Religion* that 'Oro, "after gaining a position of political ascendancy as a war god, absorbed the functions of Ro'o, or Lono, the god of peace and agriculture. In Tahiti, "the god Oro came into such favor as to supercede the original patrons of the chiefly families, Ta'aroa and Tāne, and in the late pre-European history of this island, Oro is found to be simultaneously the ferocious war lord, the recipient of the peacetime harvest offerings, and the patron of the dancers and singers whose activities were intended to forward fertility in nature. Therefore, there can be no question but that Oro in historic times in Tahiti was fulfilling the same functions as harvest and fertilizing god as did Rongo in New Zealand, and Lono in Hawai'i" (109).

To conclude, the god Kū, originally worshipped as a war god, continued to be so worshipped; but his mana also became applied to peacetime activities as well – to building things and making the land productive. Kū became associated with fishponds, and other aspects of fishing such as offshore fishing grounds and aku-trolling. Fishing altars along the shores of the islands were called Kū'ula. Kū also became associated with forests, canoe-building, and some aspects of farming.

Of fishponds, Kamakau writes, there were many on "Oahu, Moloka'i, and Kaua'i, and a few on Hawai'i and Maui. This shows how numerous the population must have been in the old days, and how they must have kept the peace for how could they have worked together in unity and made these walls if they had been frequently at war and in opposition one against another? If they did not eat the fruit of their effort, how could they have let the awa fish grow to a fathom in length; the 'anae to an iwilei, a yard; the ulua to a meter or a muku (four and a half feet); the āholehole until its head was hard as coral (Ko'a ka lae); and the 'o'opu until their scales were like the uhu? Peace in the kingdom was the reason that the walls could be built, the fish

could grow big, and there were enough people to do this heavy work" (*Works* 47).

1. Lehoʻula and ʻAleamai as well as other places in Hāna mentioned in this story can be located on the map on page 136. The names of these gods associated with Hāna translates as follows:

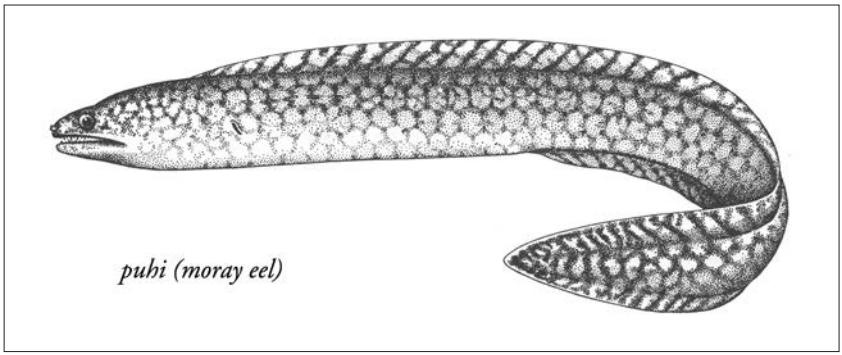
Kūʻula-kai: "Red Kū of the sea"
Hina-puku-iʻa: "Hina gathering seafood"
ʻAiʻai: "Eat food"
Kūʻula-uka: "Red Kū of the uplands"
Hina-ulu-ʻōhiʻa: "Hina of the ʻōhiʻa growth"

2. These three brothers, like Kūʻula himself, are manifestations of the god Kū, the male generating force associated with forests, trees, and plants; Beckwith gives their names as (Kū)mokuhāliʻi ("Kū island spreader"), Kūpāʻaikeʻe ("Adze eating crookedness"), Kū-pulupulu ("Kū kindling in the forest") (12-16). The sister La-ea, or Hina-ulu-ʻōhiʻa ("Hina of the ʻōhiʻa growth," also called Lea), was also considered an ʻaumakua of canoe building, as was another brother, Kū-ka-ʻōhia-laka, whose story appears in the introduction to this collection.

3. Kūʻula's fishpond is believed by some to be the first in Hawaiʻi. According to a kamaʻāina from Hāna, the fishpond was located at Lehoʻula near the base of Kaiwiopele Hill; he recalls that during his childhood, the walls of a fishpond were visible beneath the surface of the water, but when we looked for the walls, we couldn't see any, the walls perhaps having been washed away by the strong surf of the area. For descriptions of fishponds, see Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries" (105-106); Kamakau's *The Works of the People of Old* (47-50); and Summers' *Hawaiian Fishponds*.

4. A reference to the rocky fortress of Kaupeepee on the steep promontory of Hāʻupu, between Pelekunu and Waikolu valleys on the north shore of Moloka'i, west of Wailau. See Kalakaua's *The Myths and Legends of Hawaii* (69-94) for the related legend.

5. Manaiakalani, "Come from heaven," is also the Hawaiian name of the Polynesian constellation Maui's Fishhook (the constellation



puhi (moray eel)

called Scorpio in the West).

6. Kenneth P. Emory, in *Material Culture of the Tuamotu Archipelago*, describes the use of a baited hook mounted on a stick to catch eels in the Tuamotus. The hook was attached to a stick so that the fishing line would not be severed by the eel's bite. In shallow water, this stick could be inserted into an eel hole by someone standing on the reef; in deeper water, a diver had to insert the stick into the eel's hole, and a partner, "in a canoe above, held the line, on which he would haul as soon as the eel had taken the hook." The eel was clubbed to death after it was brought into the canoe (205-6). Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing" (110) describes a similar implement in Hawai'i – a hook placed at the head of a stick used for fishing for eels in clefts between rocks.

7. The backbone can still be seen in the pāhoehoe at Leho'ula. (See the cover photo.) A rock formation at Kamalino on the southwestern side of Ni'ihau is also said to be the backbone of an eel – a great eel called Puhi'ula ("Red eel") caught there and cut into four pieces by Pahaunui and Pahauiki, two fishermen of Maui (Tava and Keale 75-6).

8. Kahuoi, the pearl shell aku lure, or pā hī aku, is named for a chief. Kamakau tells the story of the pā: "On the north side of the church of Kau-maka-pili in Honolulu, there once was a kuahu altar for the fishing lure, the pā hī aku, that belonged to Kahuoi. This was a very famous lure; when it was shown, the aku would fill the canoe. At that time the harbor of Kou was not entered by ships; the aku and 'ahi fish came in there." When Kahuoi goes fishing for uhu at Hāna, Maui, the pā is stolen from him by Pū'olo-kālina (*Tales* 8). For an illustration and descriptions of the pā hī aku, see page 43 and Appendix 1, "Hawaiian

Fisheries," 98; see "Hawaiian Fisheries," 93-94, for a description of the lehoʻula and its use.

9. A koʻa is a deep sea mound where fish gather to feed and where they can be caught in great numbers. Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing" describes a koʻa for kāhala (amberjack): "The koʻa is a place of great enjoyment by all the kāhala. The koʻa is about the size of a small village with houses standing and people gathering in crowds" (115-116). Walter Paulo and Eddie Kaʻanana, two fishermen of Miloliʻi on the Big Island, describe the koʻa for ʻōpelu (mackerel) in Miloliʻi as being a couple of hundred yards long about a quarter of a mile offshore in 150-200 feet of water. The koʻa are spaced a quarter to half a mile apart, and different families of Miloliʻi feed and fish for ʻōpelu at different koʻa.

10. See "Kalamainuʻu" for the story of the origin of the hīnaʻi hīnālea (basket for trapping hīnālea). See Appendix 1,"Hawaiian Fisheries" (95), for a description of the hīnaʻi hoʻoluʻuluʻu, used to catch hīnālea.

11. According to Handy, this offering was made to thank the fishing god for his help in securing fish, to give the god a share of the catch to insure future supplies, and to lift the kapu from the rest of the fish so that they could be consumed by mortals (*Polynesian Religion* 298-300).

ʻAIʻAI

Moke Manu

Translated by Moses Nakuina

After the death of Kamohoaliʻi, the aliʻi of Hāna, ʻAiʻai left the people of Haneoʻo catching hīnālea and went to Kumaka, a place where freshwater springs out from the sand and rocks near the surf of Puhele, at Hāmoa. There he raised upright a large, long stone that lay in the sea and also placed other stones about the freshwater spring; then he told his friend: "Today I name this stone Kū-a-lanakila ("Erect in victory"), for I have triumphed over my enemies; and I hereby declare that all fishes, crabs, and seaweeds shall return again in plenty throughout the seas of Hāna, as in the days when my parents were living in the flesh at Lehoʻula."

The story of Kūʻula and ʻAiʻai is memorialized by this stone, and people have flocked to see the stone and verify the tradition. Some kāhuna advise their suffering patients to visit the stone with offerings for relief from sickness and also to bathe in the spring of Kumaka and the surf of Puhele. This was a favorite spot for the aliʻi of olden times to bathe and surf, and is often referred to in the stories and legends of Hawaiʻi-nei. This was the first stone raised by ʻAiʻai and established as a kūʻula at Hāmoa, and the old people of Hāna believe it brought the fish back to their waters.[1]

After ʻAiʻai carried out his father's instructions to bring the fish back to Hāna, his fame spread throughout the district, and the people made much of him during his stay with them. ʻAiʻai's great service during his boyhood was to teach his friend and his friend's parents how to make various kinds of fishing nets and lines.[2]

When they were skilled in fishing with these nets and lines, ʻAiʻai called the people together and declared his friend the head fisherman of Hāna, with full control of all the fishing grounds (koʻa iʻa) ʻAiʻai had established there. Thus ʻAiʻai conferred his mana kupua, second to none, on his friend, whereby ʻAiʻai's name would be perpetuated and his fame established all over the land.

The first koʻa iʻa where ʻAiʻai measured the depth of the sea is near

Aleamai, his birthplace, and is called Ka-puka-ulua ("The ulua hole"), the cave where he hooked the puhi Koona. This spot is a few miles from the shore to the southeast of the rocky islet called ʻĀlau. The second koʻa he established was a spot a mile from Haneoʻo and Hāmoa – for kala, palani, nanue, puhi, and ula. These varieties of fish are caught not with net or hook, but with basket traps filled with bait and let down into the deep sea.[3] The third koʻa, which ʻAiʻai named Koaula, was located out in the deep sea, at a depth of about two hundred fathoms. Fishermen have to locate this koʻa for deep-sea fish by certain shore bearings; otherwise the fishermen may miss the exact spot and end up fishing at a place where their hooks and lines can get caught in coral and rocks. All the koʻa ʻAiʻai located have no coral ledges to catch and entangle hooks and lines, and old Hawaiians commended his skill in finding such locations, believing he was helped by his father, Kūʻula.[4]

At the bay of Wānanalua, the present port of Hāna, with its noted hill of Kaʻuiki and the sandy beach of Pueokahi, ʻAiʻai established a kūʻula and also placed a fish stone, the koʻa known as Maka-kilo-iʻa ("Eyes of the fish spotter"), in the cliff of Kaʻuiki. The people of Hāna credit this stone with the frequent appearance of the akule, ʻōʻio, moi, and other fish in their waters.

ʻAiʻai then proceeded to Honomāʻele, where he picked up three pebbles at the shore and placed them out beyond the breaking surf. In due time, these three pebbles attracted other pebbles and formed a regular ridge where the ʻāweoweo gathered from the far ocean for rest; whereupon the people came with nets, hooks, and lines, and caught all they desired. The writer witnessed such fishing in 1845, but today, this koʻa for ʻāweoweo is difficult to locate, because all the old residents who knew its location are gone – either died or moved away.

ʻAiʻai next went over to Waiohue, Koʻolau, where he placed a stone on a sharp rocky island called Paka, on which a few pū hala, or pandanus trees, grow. At a certain time of the year, the kala come in from the ocean, attracted to this place by the power of this stone. They continue on westward to Mokumana, a cape between Keʻanae and Wailua-nui. They come in gradually for two days, and on the third day, at the pali of Ohea, they are taken with nets.

In olden times while the fishermen were hauling in their nets full of kala into the canoes, the akule and ʻōʻio also came in great numbers, making it impossible to catch all the fish in one day; and so many fish were gathered in the nets, it took the fishermen a day and a night before they could care for their catch, which was more than they could use, so

the leftovers were fed to the pigs and dogs.[5] The kala of Ohea is noted for its fatness and fine flavor. Few people are living there now, and the people who knew about this fishing are dead; but the stone ʻAiʻai placed on that little island at Waiohue is still there.

ʻAiʻai stayed there a few days and then returned to Hāna and lived at this birthplace quite a long time till he was a grown man. During this period he taught his art of fishing in all its forms; and when he was satisfied the people were proficient, he prepared to visit other places to teach his art. But before leaving Hāna, ʻAiʻai told the friend he had appointed as head fisherman of Hāna to go and kill the big heʻe kupua in the deep sea right off of Wailuanui, Koʻolau; and his friend consented.

When the canoes were prepared and drawn to the beach and the people ready to go, ʻAiʻai gave his friend the fishing-gear gourd where the cowry shell lure his father had given him was kept. This shell for catching octopus is called Lehoʻula ("Red cowry"), and Lehoʻula in Hāna was named after it.[6]

The people went in the canoes till they reached the pali near Kopiliula, where they rested. ʻAiʻai was not with them, but supervised their work from the pali of Puhiai. While resting, they prepared the leho for lowering, and when it was ready, ʻAiʻai's friend called on Kūʻula and Hina for the assistance of their mana kupua. Then he removed the covering of the gourd and took out the leho, which had rich beautiful colors like the rainbow; he attached it to a line and lowered it into the sea, where it sent out rays of fiery light.

The heʻe was so attracted by the radiance that it came out of its hole and with its great arms, which were as long and thick as full-grown coconut trees, pushed up to the surface of the water and stood there like a coconut grove. The men were frightened, for the heʻe entered among the canoes, intending to destroy the canoes and the men and capture the leho; but it failed because ʻAiʻai's friend, at the proper moment, shoved a stone he had brought into the head of the heʻe; and the weight of the stone drew the heʻe down to the bottom of the sea and kept it there; being powerless to remove the stone, the heʻe died.[7]

The men seized and cut off one of its arms, which was so big it loaded down all the canoes. They returned to Hāna with just that one arm. The rest of the heʻe turned to stone and is pointed out today just outside of Wailuanui, where a stone formation resembles the body of a heʻe with one arm missing. When ʻAiʻai saw from the pali that his friend had succeeded in killing the heʻe, he returned to Hāna; the canoes

arrived shortly after him and the arm of the he‘e was divided among the people according to his directions.

When ‘Ai‘ai saw his friend and others of Hāna were skilled in all the arts of fishing, he decided to leave his birthplace and journey elsewhere. So he called a council of his friends and told them he intended to leave to establish other ko‘a and instruct other people with all the knowledge thereof, as his father, Kū‘ula, wished him to do. They approved of this plan and expressed their indebtedness to ‘Ai‘ai for all the benefits he had bestowed on them.

On leaving Aleamai, ‘Ai‘ai took with him the fishhook Manaiakalani and the pā hī aku Kahuoi from his little cave on the hill of Kaiwiopele and disappeared in the mysterious manner of his parents.

He established kū‘ula and ko‘a ‘āina by placing three fish stones at various points as far as Kīpahulu. At a bend in the streams of Kikoo and Ma‘ulili stands a stone which was thrown there by ‘Ai‘ai, unmoved by the many freshets that have swept the valleys since that time. Out in the sea of Ma‘ulili is a famous ko‘a known as Koanui, about a mile from shore and marking the boundary of the sea of Ma‘ulili. The fish that appear periodically at this ko‘a and are caught within its limits have ever since been subject to a division between the fishermen and the landowner. At this ko‘a, the fisherman’s hook will not return without a fish except if the hook is lost or the line cut.

The first time ‘Ai‘ai tested this ko‘a and caught a fish with his noted hook, he saw a fisherman named Kānemakua drifting idly in a canoe without catching anything. Seeing ‘Ai‘ai, Kānemakua paddled till he came close to where ‘Ai‘ai was floating on an improvised canoe, a wiliwili log, without an outrigger, which much surprised Kānemakua. Before Kānemakua reached him, ‘Ai‘ai felt a tug at his line and knew he had caught a fish and began pulling it in. When Kānemakua came within speaking distance, ‘Ai‘ai greeted him and gave him the fish, putting it into Kānemakua’s canoe. Kānemakua was pleased and thanked ‘Ai‘ai for his generosity.

While putting the fish in the canoe, ‘Ai‘ai said: “This is the first time I have fished in these waters to locate this ko‘a, and as you are the first man I meet I give you the first fish caught. I also give you charge of this ko‘a. But take my advice – when you come here to fish and see a man approach you in a canoe and float alongside of you, if you have already caught a fish, give it to him as I have done to you, without regret, and thus get a good name for yourself and be known as

a generous man. If you follow this advice, you and your relations will receive great benefits."[8]

As ʻAiʻai finished speaking, he suddenly disappeared, and Kānemakua could hardly believe he had not been dreaming, but for the assurance he had in the great fish lying in his canoe. He returned to shore with his prize, which was so large and heavy that it required the help of two others to carry it to the house, where it was cut up and baked in an imu. When it was cooked, he took the eyes of the fish and offered them up as a thanksgiving sacrifice. Then his family, friends, and neighbors came to the feast and ate freely. All this time Kānemakua was thinking of ʻAiʻai's words, which he duly observed. The first kūʻula established at Maʻulili, Maui, was named after Kānemakua, and from that time the fish have been given out freely, without restriction or division.

After establishing the different kūʻula along the coast from Hāna to Kīpahulu, ʻAiʻai went to Kaupō and other places. A noted koʻa and kūʻula are at Kahikinui. All the koʻa of this coast are in the deep sea, where nets of three kinds are used; there are also places for pole-fishing and ulua fishing because this part of the island faces the wind; but the kūʻula on this coast are located on the shore, as is also the one at Honuaʻula, where it has been covered over by a lava flow. Thus ʻAiʻai performed his good work in establishing kūʻula and koʻa all around the island of Maui.

He is also said to have visited Kahoʻolawe and established a kūʻula at Hakioawa, though it differs from the others in being built on a high bluff overlooking the sea, somewhat like a temple; its stones are in the form of a square, with a space in the middle where the fishermen of Kahoʻolawe laid their first fish caught as a thanks-offering. ʻAwa and kapa were also placed there as offerings to the fishing ʻaumākua. Some people believe the koʻa of Kamohoaliʻi, the king shark of Kahoʻolawe, is on this island, but if all the stories told of this koʻa be examined, no reference to a koʻa of his on this island will be found.

From Kahoʻolawe, ʻAiʻai went to Lānaʻi, where he started fishing for aku at Cape Kaunolū, using his pā Kahuoi. This is the first known case of fishing for aku with a pā from land, as this fish is usually caught only in deep water far from shore. In the story of Kāneʻāpua, it is said Kāneʻāpua was the only one who fished for aku at Kaunolū Cape, where it was started by ʻAiʻai.[9]

From Kaunolū, ʻAiʻai went to Kaʻena Cape, on the NW end of Lānaʻi, where at a little sandy beach now known as Polihua, close to

Paomaʻi, he took a stone and carved a figure on it, then carried it down to the beach and called on his parents. During the incantations, the stone moved toward the sea and disappeared into the water. When the incantations ended, the stone reappeared and moved toward ʻAiʻai till it reached the spot where he had laid it, whereupon it was transformed into a turtle and gave the name of Polihua ("Bosom of Eggs") to that beach. Thus ʻAiʻai introduced the first turtle in the seas of Hawaiʻi on the island of Lānaʻi, and also originated the turtle's habit of going up the beach to lay eggs, then returning to the sea.[10]

After making a circuit of Lānaʻi, ʻAiʻai went over to Molokaʻi, landing at Punakou and traveling along the shore till he reached Kaunakakai. At this place right near shore, he saw spawns of mullet, called pua ʻiʻi, and kicked them onto the sand. This practice of kicking fish onto shore is carried on to this time, but only at this place. ʻAiʻai continued on along the Kona side of Molokaʻi, examining its fishing grounds and establishing kūʻula till he got to Hālawa. On the Koʻolau side of the island, he stopped at Wailau and saw the cave of the puhi Koona that went to Hāna and stole the fish from his father's pond, causing all the trouble that befell his parents and himself.

When ʻAiʻai landed at Wailau, he saw both sides of the valley covered with men, women, and children engaged in closing up the stream and diverting its water to another course where they could scoop up the ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae. The water being low, the gourds of some of the people were full from their catch.

ʻAiʻai noticed their wanton method of fishing, whereby all the ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae were caught without any thought of conservation for their propagation, so he called on his parents to take all the fish away. The prayer was granted, for suddenly all the ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae disappeared; those in the water went up the stream to a place called Koki, while those in the gourds were turned into lizards which scampered out and ran all over the rocks.[11] The people were much surprised at this change and felt sorely disappointed at the loss of their food supply. Because of his regard for a certain local lad named Kahiwa ("The chosen one"), ʻAiʻai revealed to him the place of the ʻōpae up the steep cliff of Koki. The youth followed ʻAiʻai's directions and found the ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae where they are still found today. This incident established the noted saying of the old people of that land: "Koki-o-Wailau is the ladder of the ʻōpae." The cliff is also known as the Pali of Kahiwa.

Before ʻAiʻai left Wailau, he showed this lad the kūʻula and the koʻa in the sea he had established there, the koʻa being at the same distance

offshore as that rocky island known as Mōkapu. ʻAiʻai then went to Pelekunu, Waikolu, and Kalawao, even to Kalaupapa, the present home of the lepers. At Kalaupapa, he left a certain fish stone, so the fish constantly gather there, even to this day. He also went to Hoʻolehua and so on, as far as Ka lae o ka ʻīlio and Ka lae o ka lāʻau. Between these two capes is a koʻa established by ʻAiʻai where a tree grew out from under a rock, Ekaha by name. It is a hardwood tree, but the trunk and branches are without leaves. This place is a great haunt for fishermen with their hooks.

ʻAiʻai then went to Oʻahu, first landing at Makapuʻu, in Koʻolau, where he founded a fish stone (pōhaku-iʻa) for red fish and speckled fish and called it Mālei. This was a female rock, and the fish of that place is the uhu. The rock is referred to in a mele of Hiʻiaka:

> I will not go to the stormy capes of Koʻolau,
> The sea-cliffs of Moeaau.
> The woman watching the uhu of Makapuʻu
> Dwells on the ledge of Kamakani
> At Koʻolau. The living
> Offer grass-twined sacrifices, O Mālei![12]

From the time ʻAiʻai founded that spawning-place until now, the fish from Makapuʻu to Hanauma has been the uhu. There were also several gathering places for fish established outside of Kawaihoa. ʻAiʻai next moved to Maunalua, then to Waiʻalae and Kāhala-ia. At Kaʻalāwai he placed a white and brown rock. There in that place is an underwater pit filled with āholehole, so the name of the area is Ka-lua-hole ("The pit of the āhole"). Right outside of Kahua-hui there is a koʻa where ʻAiʻai placed a large round sandstone that is surrounded by spawning-places for fish; Ponahakeone is its name. In ancient times the chiefs selected a very secret place wherein to hide the dead bodies of their greatly beloved, lest someone should steal the bones to make fishhooks, or arrows with which to shoot mice. For that reason the ancients referred to Ponahakeone as "He Lualoa no Naʻliʻi" ("A Deep Pit for the Chiefs").[13]

ʻAiʻai came to Kālia and so on to Kakaʻako. Here he was befriended by a man named Apua, with whom he remained several days, observing and listening to the murmurs of an aliʻi named Kou. This aliʻi was a skillful hī-aku fisherman, his grounds being outside of Māmala to Moanalua. No one was as skilled as he, and generous as well, giving

aku to the people throughout the district.

As ʻAiʻai was dwelling with his friend Apua at Kakaʻako, he meandered off one day along the shore of Kuloloia, and so on to Pākākā and Kapapoko. But he did not return to the house of his friend, for he met a young woman gathering limu and fishing for crabs. This young woman, whose name was Pūʻiwa, lived in the uplands at Hanakaialama and was an unmarried virgin. She rather forwardly asked ʻAiʻai to be her husband; he agreed, and they went up together to her home and met her parents and relatives and soon the couple were married. After they lived together for some time, they had a son whom ʻAiʻai named Puniaiki. During those days, aku was sent up from Honolulu to Nuʻuanu and distributed to different dwellings; but while others might each be given a whole fish, ʻAiʻai and his family got only a portion from some neighbor, so Pūʻiwa was angry and told ʻAiʻai to go to the brook and get some ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae to eat. ʻAiʻai went and dug a ditch and constructed a dam to lead the water from the brook into some pits where he could catch ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae.[14] He labored some days at this project, and the ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae he caught were hung up to dry.

On a following day, ʻAiʻai and his wife went with their child to the brook. She left her son on the bank of the stream while she engaged in catching ʻōpae and ʻoʻopu from the pits. Shortly, the child began to cry, so ʻAiʻai told his wife to leave her fishing to care for him, but she answered him saucily, so ʻAiʻai called upon his ancestors, and immediately, a dark, lowering cloud drew near and poured out a flood of water upon the stream, the dam was broken by the freshet and all the ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae, along with the child, were swept toward the sea. His wife, however, was not swept away by the flood. ʻAiʻai then rose up and departed, without any further thought of her.

He went down from Nuʻuanu valley to Kaumakapili, and as he was standing there, he saw some women fishing for ʻoʻopu on the banks of the stream, Kīkīhale, the daughter of the aliʻi Kou, among them.

The female guardian of the aliʻi's daughter caught a very large ʻoʻopu, and ʻAiʻai recognized it as his own child, changed from a human being into a fish.[15] The guardian showed it to Kīkīhale, who told her to put it into a large calabash with water and feed it with limu, so that it might become a pet fish. This was done and the ʻoʻopu was tended very carefully night and day.

One day while caring for the pet, the guardian was startled to see in the gourd a human child looking at her. The water in the calabash had disappeared. She was greatly surprised and, as she looked upon this

miraculous child, she felt a dark foreboding and a trembling fear.

This woman went and told Kīkīhale of this child who was formerly an ʻoʻopu, and after hearing the story, Kīkīhale hurried to see it, with grave doubts, however, that the report was true; but when she looked into the calabash, she saw a child. She lifted the child in her hands and carefully examined its form and noted its handsome features. She desired to marry the child and said: "Now, my guardian, you and your husband take and rear this child till he is grown, then I will be his wife."

The guardian answered: "By the time this child grows up, you will be old; you will be in the evening of life while he will be in the early morn of his, so won't you two be unhappy?"

Kīkīhale replied: "You won't be to blame for that; these things are mine to consider because the desire is mine, not yours, my guardian."

The child became known among all the aliʻi and attendants. He was nourished and brought up to adulthood, when Kīkīhale married him as she had said; and for a time they lived together happily. But Kīkīhale began to notice her husband was not disposed to do anything for their support, so she grew unhappy. Finally, she scolded him angrily: "My husband, can't you go out like the other men to assist our father and the attendants in fishing, instead of eating your fill, then rolling over facing the ridge-pole of the house and counting the rafters? This may do while my father is alive, but if he should die, who would support us?" Thus she reproached him from day to day, and the words stung Puniaiki's heart.

So one day he said to his wife: "It's unpleasant to hear you constantly criticizing my behavior. Catching fish in the ocean is not as difficult as catching wild animals; the fish are obedient if called, and you may eat wastefully of my catch. I have command over fish, men, pigs, and dogs. If you are a favorite of your father, go and ask him for double canoes, fishing gear, and paddlers."

After her husband spoke, Kīkīhale hastened to Kou, her father, and told him what Puniaiki had said. The request was promptly granted. Kīkīhale returned to her husband and told him she had gotten all he had asked for. Going down to the canoe landing, Puniaiki found the men loading the canoes with nets, rods, lines, and pearl-shell lures (pā). He lit a fire and burned up all the pā. His wife got angry and cried loudly over her father's pā, then went and told her father of her husband's mischievous action; but her father didn't say a word about his son-in-law's action, though he had given his son-in-law five gourds filled with pā, a thousand in all, and all his pā were burned up save only two,

which Kou had reserved.[16]

That night Puniaiki slept apart from his wife, and he told the canoe paddlers to sleep in the canoe sheds, not at their homes that night; and they obeyed his words.[17]

It was Kou's habit to arouse his men before daybreak to go in the malau (light double canoes) for aku fishing at the mouth of the harbor, because aku fed at daybreak, not after sunrise. The canoes would enter the schools of aku and hook the fish, and this aliʻi had become famous as a successful fisherman. But on this day the miraculous work of ʻAiʻai's child would be seen.[18]

While Kou and his men always set out before dawn, here was Puniaiki still at home at sunrise. When he woke up, he looked mauka and saw a rainbow at Kaumakapili, with its reddish mist spread out and a human form standing within it. He knew the form was his father, ʻAiʻai, so he went there and ʻAiʻai showed him the place where the pā called Kahuoi was kept, and said to his son: "I will remain here till you return from fishing; be quick."

When Puniaiki reached the canoe landing, the canoes were quickly prepared for departure, and as they reached Kapapoko and Pākākā, at the sea of Kuloloia, they went on to ʻUlakua, now the lighthouse location of Honolulu harbor. Here Puniaiki asked the paddlers: "What is the name of that surf cresting before the prows of our canoes?"

The men replied, "Puʻuiki" (small bumps).

Then he said to them: "Point the prows of the canoes straight for the breakers and paddle strongly." The men doubted there were any aku at that place in the surf, but that was none of their business. As they neared the breakers of Puʻuiki, below the mouth of Māmala, Puniaiki said to his men: "Turn the canoes around and go shoreward." As they returned, he said quickly, "Paddle hard, for here we are on top of a school of aku." When the men looked into the water, they didn't see any fish swimming about, but on reaching ʻUlakua, Puniaiki took the pā Kahuoi out from its wrapping in the fishing gourd and held the hook in his hand. At this, an unprecedented number of aku fairly leaped into the canoes. The canoes became so filled with fish, without any labor, that they sank in the water as they reached Kapuʻu-kolo (the gently moving bumps), so the men jumped off the canoes and carried them to the beach. The canoe men were amazed by this work of Kou's son-in-law; and the people on shore shouted as the aku, which filled the harbor, swam toward the fishpond of Kūwili (in Iwilei) and on into the mouth of Leleo stream.

When the canoes touched shore, Puniaiki seized two fish in his hands and went to join his father, and ʻAiʻai directed him to take them up near where his mother lived. These aku were not gifts for her, but an offering to Kūʻula at a koʻa established just above Kahuailanawai. Puniaiki obeyed his father's instructions, and after he returned, ʻAiʻai sent him to give a supply of aku to his mother, Pūʻiwa. She was greatly surprised that this handsome young man was her son, and this gift of aku was the first fruits of his labor.

The people marveled at the quantity of fish throughout the harbor, so that even the stream at Kīkīhale was also full of aku. Puniaiki commanded the people to take of them day and night, and the news of this visit of aku traveled all around Oʻahu. This unequaled haul of aku was a great humiliation to Kou, diminishing his reputation as a fisherman; but he was neither envious toward his son-in-law, nor angry – he just sat silently. After giving the subject much thought, he finally decided to turn over the duties of fishing to Puniaiki, since the young man could carry them out so effortlessly.

Shortly afterwards, ʻAiʻai arranged with Puniaiki to establish the following kūʻula, koʻa, and pōhaku iʻa around the island of Oʻahu: the Kou stone for Honolulu and Kaumakapili; a kūʻula at Kupahu; a fish stone at Hanapouli, ʻEwa; the kūʻula Ahuena for Waipiʻo; two for Honouliuli; the koʻa Hani-o outside of Kalaeloa; Kua and Maunalahilahi for Waiʻanae; Kamalino for Waimea; and Kaihukuuna for Lāʻie-maloʻo, Koʻolau. ʻAiʻai and his son also visited Kauaʻi and Niʻihau on this work, then turned around and went together to Hawaiʻi. The principal fishing grounds there are Poo-a, Kahaka, and Olelomoana at Kona; Kalae at Kaʻū; Kupakea at Puna, and I at Hilo.

In former times at these fishing grounds around all the islands, great numbers and varieties of fish were seen, and occasionally deep sea kinds came close in shore; but in this new era there are not so many. Some people say it is on account of the changing times.[19]

Notes

This continuation of the tradition of Kūʻula, recorded by Moke Manu and translated into English by Moses K. Nakuina and S.N. Emerson, originally appeared in Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual* (1902) and was later reprinted in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales* (1907, 230-249).

1. Beckwith writes, "The fishpond over which [Kūʻula] presided,

the place where his house stood, the bones of the great eel he slew, the stone of victory (Pohaku o lanakila) set up by his son at the famous surfing beach of Maka-ai-kuloa to commemorate his triumph – all are pointed out today by natives of the locality in verification of the story" (20). A kamaʻāina told me that he knew nothing about the stone of victory, but that there were stones surrounding a freshwater spring on the reef off Hāmoa when he was growing up in the 1930's; however, the stones had been washed away by the tsunami of 1946.

2. "Ka poʻe kahiko had many ways of catching fish; perhaps there are no other people in the world like the Hawaiians in doing this" (Kamakau, *Works* 88). See Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," and Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing," as well as Kamakau and Te Rangi Hiroa for descriptions of the numerous fishing methods and implements used by the Hawaiians. Similar methods and implements were widespread from Papua-New Guinea and Belau in the western Pacific to Rapanui (Easter Island) in the east and included spearing, hand-grabbing, nooses and snares, nets, leaf sweeps, basket traps, hooks or gorges and lines, lures and decoys, walled fish weirs and fishponds, and poisons, with local variations and deficiencies due to the presence or absence of certain materials, species of fish, and geographical features on or around each island.

3. Fishing baskets were constructed so that fish could enter but not leave, different sizes of baskets for different kinds of fish, baited appropriately. (For descriptions of Hawaiian fishing baskets, see Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 94-97.)

4. Koʻa, or offshore fishing grounds, were attached to areas on land so that the residents had a source of fish. Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing" gives the following example: "Hāpuʻu is the most noted koʻa (for kāhala, or amberjack) in the sea of ʻAlenuihāhā, north of Kohala, Hawaiʻi. Hukiaa is the ʻāina to which this fishing ground belongs [i.e., the aliʻi and people of Hukiaa had a right to fish there]. But this koʻa of "Hāpuʻu is far from the ʻāina, perhaps about three miles offshore and over 1200 feet deep" (115).

Koʻa were located by aligning landmarks on shore, two on one side and two on the other. The intersection of the lines marked the spot of the koʻa. Often one of the landmarks was near shore and the other in the hills or mountain behind it. Poepoe and others ("Hawaiian

Ethnographical Notes," Vol.1, 199) list ten fishing grounds for the district of Honuaʻula on Maui, along with directions for finding them. For example, the koʻa called Koʻa-hau can be found by aligning Puʻu ʻŌlai with a hill in Keoneʻōʻio on one side and Paheʻe-o-Lono Point (the eastern tip of Molokini Island) with a hill in Kaka, on the southeast corner of the island of Kahoʻolawe; the koʻa called Na-iʻa-a-Kamaliʻi can be located by aligning a cave at Makena with the Point of Paopao at Puʻu ʻŌlai on one side, and a cave at Pali-kū in Keoneʻōʻio in between two stones at Mokuha and Kanahena.

Kamakau lists the following kinds of fish caught in deep-sea fishing grounds: kāhala (amberjack), mokuleʻia (amberjack), paka (blue snapper), koaʻe (a type of snapper), ʻulaʻula (red snapper), ōholehole (a perch-like fish), hāpuʻu ʻeleʻele (black grouper), hāpuʻu ʻulaʻula (red grouper),ʻahi (albacore), lupe (sting ray), hāhālua (manta ray), uku (gray snapper), hāhālua leleiona (manta ray remora), moelua (goatfish), lehe (crevalle-like fish), and momi (?). Kamakau also describes the way various fish affected the line:

> When taken by an ʻahi, a kāhala, an ulua, or a hāhālua leleiona, the line would rise and fall in the gourd, curving like the ama [outrigger float] or the ʻiako [outrigger boom] of a canoe, or the arch of a rainbow. If there were a heavy weight pulling the line obliquely, it was a shark that had taken the line; but if the line rushed out and whirred on the surface of the sea, it was a sailfish. If the fish fought and caused the line to rise and fall, there was a robber, or bait-stealer, below, but if the line remained straight while the fish nibbled like a litter of piglets nuzzling and resting at their mother's breast, then the fisherman rejoiced. It meant that the fish were in a row, fluttering like pennants from the mainmast to the mizzenmast and on down the back of the aft sail of a man-of-war. If there were ten hooks on the line, then ten fish would be caught; if twenty hooks, then twenty fish, and so on up to forty or fifty or more" (*Works* 76).

The following account by H. Waterhouse of deep-sea fishing appeared in Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual* in 1899 (104-6):

> While visiting the Kona coffee district some time ago, I had the good fortune to receive an invitation to accompany a native fisherman in quest of deep sea fish.

… The canoe we stepped into was low and narrow, about twenty-five feet in length. In the bow a paddler took his position, kneeling down on his bare knees; another was kneeling nearly amidship. My friend and self were seated on narrow board seats, there being three to the canoe.

To prevent the canoe from upsetting, curved outriggers run out from one side supported by a narrow float. A gentle shove of the paddle and the canoe glided out upon its mission. Deftly and swiftly the paddlers bent to their work and in a little while we sped across the harbor or bay. In the far distance two black specks were seen bobbing up and down upon the surface of the ocean: these specks were canoes that had preceded us to the fishing ground. It took all of an hour of hard paddling to reach them. Upon arrival we found each canoe had a single occupant. They had not commenced their work, but had been arranging their lines and hooks. We were now about two miles off shore. This particular spot of the ocean was the haunt of a famous fish known as the "U-la-u-la" (red snapper).

The fishermen now commenced to put their lines over the sides of their canoes. At the end of a line was tied a lava stone about as large as a man's head, used as a sinker. The line itself was a 3/8" cord, not unlike a variety used in hammock netting; a little above the sinker and for a distance of about six feet, there ran out from the line little bamboo canes in a horizontal position, about a foot and a half in length, and from the ends of these canes dangled another piece of line to which was attached the baited hook.

The bait was a special kind of fish meat. Just prior to dropping the stone overboard the fishermen took their bearings by a jutting piece of land on either side of them and what looked like the ruins of an old wall situated far up the hillside in front. Being satisfied that their bearings were correct, the stones were slipped over the side of the three canoes and my eyes followed one of them in the transparent water for perhaps thirty feet. As the lines were running out each fisherman not only attended to his line but deftly plied his paddle to prevent the canoe from drifting with the ocean current.

It took several minutes for the lines to reach bottom, for we were fishing in 150 fathoms of water. On reaching bottom, the natives by a peculiar jerk disengaged the stone used as a sinker

and drew the line about a fathom from the bottom. In about half a minute one of the natives said he had a fish and commenced to pull in his line. … it had to come 900 feet; at length I could faintly outline something white, which quickly turned to pink, and a moment later a fish appeared. In length it was about twenty inches, shaped something like a flounder and in color not unlike a gold fish. The other canoes were successful also, and we had three fish.

… Again the line disappeared and the same performance was gone through. This time the fisherman in our canoe informed us that he had three fish on his line …. At length the line was pulled in but revealed only two fish. However, he quickly informed us that the other one would soon float to the surface and to look for it. This we did and in a few minutes it appeared about a canoe's length away.

A curious phenomenon about this fish was that on arrival at the surface of the water, its stomach floated out of its mouth like an inflated toy balloon. This was explained by the fishermen as a result of being drawn through the water and meeting the great resistance of water which is so heavy at such a depth. The result of about an hour and a half of fishing was a catch of eleven of these royal fish, varying in size from fourteen to twenty-six inches.

5. A local of Nāhiku told me fisherman still net schools of akule in the nearby bay of Honolulunui; he didn't know if swarms of kala were caught in the area. For a description of the kala (surgeon fish) and ʻōʻio (bonefish) net and its use (ʻupena ʻōʻio), see Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 100-101.

6. For a description of lures used for fishing for heʻe, or octopus, in the deep sea, see Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 93-94. Kamakau provides a similar description of the most desirable cowry shell lures, along with an account of the technique used, for capturing the heʻe:

Very choice cowries were the leho ahi ("fire cowry") and the leho kupa ("native cowry"), and they were desired and searched for just as a beautiful woman is sought. The ahi is red like the red of a firebrand. Its well-formed "double canoes" (the lips of the shell) are covered over by a mantle, which envelops the

shell to the top. The kupa is alike in beauty to a shade-ripened mountain apple; it is a deep dark color through which shows red. … Just as a woman with lustful eyes entices many men, so a beautiful leho arouses the desire of the he‘e, and two or three of them at once might be pierced by the kākala (hook attached to the shell), or because they clung fast to the ‘āmana, the wooden stem of the lure. The proper cowry to use in the morning was the ahi; when the day grew warmer, the leho ‘ōlūpalaha or pāuhu; and at midday the kupa ‘ōhi‘a pe‘emalu. The ahi had been smoked over a fire.

A stone had to be used with the cowry – a handsome one, to enhance the loveliness of the female cowry. The handsome stone was the husband to the cowry, and the cowry was married to the stone. When the two matched in beauty, and they swayed in dance in the ocean, the he‘e came to watch the joyful dance. Those of them who wished to kiss (honi) the cowry, leaped to embrace and kiss her because they were aroused by the dance. (*Works* 67)

7. The giant octopus was feared throughout the Pacific both because it could squeeze a person to death after it was hauled into a canoe or hold a diver underwater until he drowned. Bronislaw Malinowski reports that in the Trobriand Islands, the native sailors spoke around the campfire of a gigantic octopus (kwita), “so gigantic that it would cover a whole village with its body; its arms are thick as coconut palms …. …woe to the canoe caught by the giant kwita! It would be held fast, unable to move for days till the crew, dying of hunger and thirst, would decide to sacrifice one of the small boys of their number” (*Argonauts* 234). The simile used by the Trobriand Islanders to describe the size of the octopus’s arms (“thick as coconut palms”) is the same as the one used in Moke Manu’s story of ‘Ai‘ai (“… its great arms … were as long and thick as full-grown coconut trees….”)

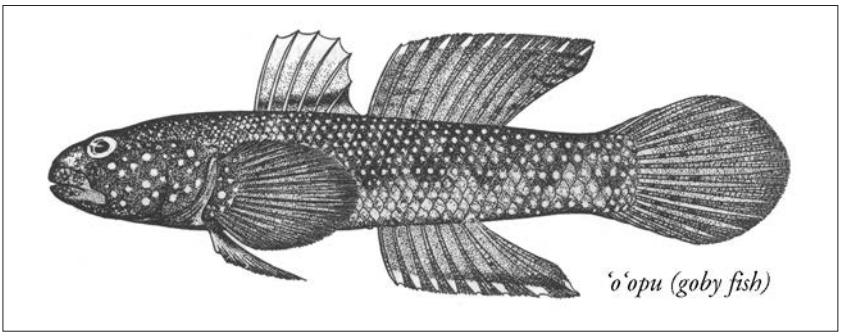
8. Te Rangi Hiroa describes a similar custom of generosity in Sāmoa: “Fishermen, on coming in, must give a fish or a portion of fish to anyone they meet in the water of the lagoon or on the shore” (*Samoan Material Culture* 519).

9. Beckwith notes, “Fish gods named Kāne-‘āpua and Rae-apua were worshiped at Lāna‘i in Ellis’s day, and Kalākaua names them as

worshiped by Molokaʻi fishermen" (452). According to Ellis, these gods were represented by "two large, carved stone images." See Emory (12-13) for the traditions of Kāne-ʻāpua on Lānaʻi. A note to "An Account of Fishing" in Fornander (Vol. 6) reads "The fisher-folk's deities throughout the islands were simply certain designated stones; in no case were they carved images" (174). While this may have been the general rule, there were exceptions, as Ellis notes. Carved stone images of fishing gods were found in the Marquesas Island. (See note 10.)

10. Stone images were used to attract turtles (and fish) in the Marquesas: "These turtle fishers had stone images (tiki) made in human form. It is said today that they would leave these in their house when they went for the fishing ground, and that when they arrived there and began operations they would see [the images] sitting up on the hillside on the shore near them. It is a belief concerning fishermen's stone tiki at Atu Ona that when they used to be taken out in the canoe and thrown into the water to draw the fish they would be found, upon the return of the fishers, to have come back of their own accord to the sacred precinct" (E.S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesas* 174). In the Pacific, turtles were taken with net, hook and line, or noose, or by diving for them and grabbing them by hand and shoving them upside down to the surface.

11. Beckley writes: "The ʻoʻopu, or goby fish, breed or are hatched in salt water and the young fry ascend the streams to live and grow. The young are known as hinana, scarcely any larger than maggots, and seem to have a special aptitude for getting up almost perpendicular embankments or waterfalls" (8). The ʻoʻopu is the fish form of the moʻo, or lizard (Pukui *Folktales* 48), hence the sudden transformation of goby fish into lizards.



ʻoʻopu (goby fish)

12. According to a woman named Kanaloa, the rock Mālei, along with other supernatural rocks, came with Pele, the volcano goddess, to Hawai‘i from Kahiki (Pukui *Folktales* 21); hence Hi‘iaka, Pele’s sister, offers a chant to Mālei when she visits O‘ahu. Another translation of Hi‘iaka’s mele is found in N.B. Emerson’s *Pele and Hiiaka* (88).

The 1971 Pukui-Elbert dictionary notes that Mālei was the guardian of the uhu, or parrot fish, and offerings of līpoa seaweed were placed on her altar to assure successful fishing. McAllister records from N.B. Emerson the following traditions concerning Mālei: “‘Mālei was a female kupua (supernatural being) who assumed various bodily forms. Offerings were necessary, not for her physical but for her spiritual sustenance. The burnt offering was not merely for its sweet smelling savour; it was an aliment necessary to the creature’s continued existence. For the same or a parallel reason, songs of praise and adulation (kānaenae) were equally acceptable and equally efficacious. Cut off the flowers of speech as well as the offerings of its worshippers, and a kupua would soon dwindle into nothingness. A few years ago, as I am told, a Hawaiian woman on entering a certain cave in the region of Waimānalo, found herself confronted with a stone figure, from which glowed like burning coals a group of eight flaming eyes, being set in deep sockets in the stone. This object was soon recognized as the bodily dwelling of the kupua Mālei. This little monolith at a later time came into the possession of Mr. John Cummins of Waimānalo.’”

McAllister adds, “Lahilahi Webb states that after his death, Mr. Cummins wanted Mālei brought to Bernice P. Bishop Museum. This, however, was not done. Mālei was taken back to her promontory at Makapu‘u Point and cemented to the cliff. Now only the cement base remains, for Mālei has disappeared and no one knows what has become of her. It is said that one of the lighthouse keepers was married to a Hawaiian woman who was constantly ailing. It was suggested that probably Mālei was angry and that the husband removed the stone, throwing it into the sea, or burying it, or breaking it. Not long after he was supposed to have committed this offense he died. Others think that some soldiers removed the stone. Possibly with the removal of the worshipers, Mālei ‘dwindled to nothingness’” (58-9).

13. See “Nā Iwi o Pae” (“The Bones of Pae”) on pages 57-60.

14. For a description of ‘o‘opu fishing, see Appendix 1, “Hawaiian Fisheries,” 97.

15. Such metamorphoses, common in Hawaiian legends, are based on the belief that a human being could be transformed into the form of his or her ʻaumakua, whether this form was a natural phenomenon (e.g., volcanic fire, thunder, lightning), a plant (e.g., wauke, bitter gourd, ʻōhiʻa lehua), or an animal (e.g., shark, lizard, owls, cutworm, or, in the case of ʻAiʻai's son, an ʻoʻopu, or goby fish). Such transformations could take place not only in life, but after death (see Kamakau's discussion of "Kakuʻai – Transfiguration" in *The People of Old*, 63-91); or if an ʻaumakua slept with a person, the child of the union could be born in an other-than-human form of the ʻaumakua: "In this case [the child] either took itself away or was carried by a relative to the stream, the sea, or wherever it properly belonged. It in turn became one of the family ʻaumakua" (Handy and Pukui 122).

16. Te Rangi Hiroa describes a Samoan "Hook obtaining custom": "A master fisherman could call on another master fisherman to obtain aku hooks. The fisherman who had hooks could exempt any hooks in active use, i.e., tied to the rod, but spare hooks (kept in a basket) had to be displayed to the caller, who looked them over and chose one or two he thought might be effective" (*Samoan Material Culture* 520).

17. Canoe fishing seems to have been generally restricted to men in traditional times, particularly fishing that involve ritual use of equipment. Aku fishermen, in order to purify themselves, slept in a sanctuary the night before going fishing: "It was strictly forbidden for any one to sneak away secretly to his own house to lie with his wife" (Malo 210). E.S. Craighill Handy gives the following explanation of this Polynesian taboo: "Consecration of canoes, nets, spears, lines, and hooks was an essential element in the success of fishing, for fish and fishermen, like all else, were under the control of tapu and the mana atua [supernatural power]. This explains why women in former days never, and now rarely, went out in the fishing canoes. The women being common (noa) would have neutralized the tapu of the craft, gear, and fishermen" (*Houses, Boats, and Fishing in the Society Islands* 73-4). In Satawal, Mircronesia, pregnant and menstruating women were thought to be especially dangerous to the success of fishing and were forbidden from eating certain fish because "the sea god hates the smell of blood" (Tomoya 21). Polynesian fishermen believed human blood drove away fish.

However, Beckley notes: "Women very often go in [mālolo fishing]

to help paddle the canoes as no particular skill is called for on the part of the general hands, the success of the fishing depending altogether on the good judgment and sight of the kilo (lookout)" (Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 104.)

18. For an illustration and descriptions of the pā hī aku, see page 43 and Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 98. Schools of aku and ʻahi used to come near shore in Māmala Bay (the sea from Honolulu Harbor to Puʻuloa).

Kamakau writes that there were two ways of catching aku: the first method involved taking out to sea a malau (bait tank) of live iʻao (a small silvery fish); after locating a school of aku with the help of noio (Hawaiian terns) which fed on the pīhā (herring), nehu pala (anchovy) and other small fish that aku ate, one man threw out the live fish to attract the aku to the canoe. As more and more live bait was tossed into the water, the hungry aku worked themselves into a feeding frenzy. Then the bamboo fishing poles were cast; the hooks, baited with the iʻao, were dropped onto the water and shaken:

> When a fish took the bait and broke the water, the fisherman stood up straight and grasped the pole with both hands. The fish came completely out of the water and slapped against the right side of the fisherman's chest, sounding like the dashing of one wave against another as its head smacked against the fisherman's armpit. He ran his right hand along its head and with a quick push with his open palm he freed the hook and shoved the aku forward into the canoe. From the iʻao in his mouth, he rebaited his hook and cast again. If he used forty iʻao, he would catch forty aku" (*Works* 73).

The other, more ancient method of catching aku, was called pā hī aku and required "hard" bait – a pā, or lure, made from "the shell of an uhi, or thick mother-of-pearl bivalve (pāpaua mānoanoa). … A choice uhi is iridescent [like a rainbow] and, like a red cowry, leho ʻula, its choiceness can be seen. … The pā – like the leho ʻula was a choice "chiefess" (aliʻi wahine maikaʻi) and the lure, the pā hī aku, was desired by the aku as a beautiful chiefess is desired by men" (*Works* 74-5).

Kamakau says that the two methods of catching aku (live-bait and hard-bait) were incompatible: "With the malau, all stayed in one place; in fishing with the pā lure, each canoe was paddled strongly in

a different direction. Since this would interfere with the malau fishing, it was not wise for the two kinds to go on at the same time, as those trolling with a lure would drive away the fish of the malau fishermen" (75).

Beckley, on the other hand, says live-bait and hard-bait were used together in aku fishing, and a report by E.S. Craighill Handy of aahi [albacore] fishing seems to confirm this: "When the school of aahi is reached, the ouma [a small silver fish] are taken out [from the basket bait container] and cast about on the water ahead of the canoe to attract the aahi as the canoe paddles on following the school. The pearl-shell hooks skimming the water evidently resemble – to the aahi at least – the small fry, for [the hooks] are snapped up by the big fish (*Houses, Boats, and Fishing in the Society Islands*, 104).

In his account of aku fishing in the Society Islands, Nordhoff lists a variety of shells used in the making of pā, or lures, with each of the islands having one or more varieties (15 on the largest island, Tahiti):

> When one considers the fact that each variety is obtainable in three, four, five, or more shadings of colour, the complexity of this shell-lore becomes evident. Each shade has its technical name, like iri ahiʻa (skin of the rose-apple) – the flush of pink pearl; or pua fau (Hibiscus flower) – tinged with the canary yellow of the wild hibiscus blossom….
>
> "All of these kinds of shell, of course, are local varieties of the black-lipped pearl-ʻoysterʼ – differing slightly in appearance after the dark outer surface of the valve has been ground away to expose the full lustre of the nacre. This is a fitting place to state my firm belief that the bonito recognizes these differences in colour and what I can only call 'texture' of the mother-of-pearl – differences so small in many cases that they are scarcely perceptible to the human eye. At one time I was sceptical…. But eight years of fishing with the natives have convinced me that the fish recognize instantly the correct shell for the conditions of weather, time of day, and the small fry on which they are feeding.…Often, out of a dozen hooks available aboard a canoe, there will be only one at which the fish will strike freely…" (241-243).

As the fisherman trolls for aku from his canoe, he tries different shells to find the right one: "As the hook skitters on the surface in the

wake of the canoe, he moves the tip of his rod back and forth laterally causing the hook to follow a zigzag course. This increases its speed through the water and is believed to be tempting to the fish. A bonito makes the water boil a foot behind the shell, but refuses to take hold. Up comes the rod, the hook is made fast to the netting, and another one goes overboard. A moment, in the midst of the fish, suffices to try each shell, and no time must be lost. Sometimes when only an occassional bonito will strike, the expert hastily opens the fish he has caught, in search of roe. If roe is found, he compares its colour with his hooks until he finds one of precisely the same shade. Such a bit of shell, it is thought, will be seized without hesitation" (253).

19. The following version of the story of ʻAiʻai is found in Fornander, Vol. 6, 556-559:

Kūʻula was the father, Hina the mother, ʻAiʻai the son; Niolapa in Nuʻuanu the land where they lived. Kūʻula and Hina were expert fishers and had a pā named Kahuoi, which was guarded by the bird Ka-manu-wai ("The water bird") at Kaumakapili. When Kūʻula went to fish for aku outside of Māmala Bay, the aku came up and filled his canoe, and this fish was food for the bird. One day when Kūʻula was fishing for aku outside of Māmala, Kipapalaulu, the aliʻi of Honolulu, was also fishing and saw the aku coming up into and filling Kūʻula's canoe, so the aliʻi stole this pā Kahuoi from Kūʻula; the bird Kamanuwai was hungry, without food. There at Kaumakapili, the bird closed its eyes ("ka pili o na maka") from hunger, and from then on, the place was known as Kau-maka-pili ("Perch with eyes closed").

Hina became pregnant and gave birth to a son named ʻAiʻai, whom the parents threw into the stream below Kaumakapili; the water carried the baby toward the sea to where the bridge at Hooliliamanu is today; there above the rock known as Nahakaipuami, ʻAiʻai floated.

At Kapuʻukolo, the aliʻi Kipapalaulu lived with his daughter Kauaelemimo. At noon one day, when Kauaelemimo went to bathe with her women, the abandoned child was found, and Kauaelemimo took the child for herself and provided for it. ʻAiʻai grew up to be a very good-looking child, so Kauaelemimo took him for her husband and slept with him.

When she was pregnant, she craved for fish, so ʻAiʻai went fishing with a pole at that place where the custom house is today and caught fish to feed his wife. Ten days later, Kauaelemimo craved for aku, so

she asked ʻAiʻai to go fishing for some.

ʻAiʻai told her, "Go get a pā from your father."

The woman agreed and went before her father, who asked, "What brings you here?"

"I've come to get a pā for my husband."

"Yes, a pā – here's a pā." The woman returned to ʻAiʻai and gave him the pā; ʻAiʻai told her, "I can't catch anything with this pā; I could fish till my body ached and still no fish would bite."

The woman asked, "So then, where is the pā you want?"

ʻAiʻai replied, "Go to your father and tell him that there is a pā that will always get fish for a fisherman, there inside the fishing-gear gourd." ʻAiʻai wanted to get back his father's pā, Kahuoi, the one stolen by Kipapalaulu

When the daughter appeared before Kipapalaulu and asked him again to give her a pā, Kipapalaulu denied he had any more: "There are no more pā; all the pā are gone."

Kauaelemimo replied, "Really? ʻAiʻai said there is a pā inside the fishing-gear gourd."

"Yes, a real pā – I just remembered it." He went and got the gourd and looked into it – the pā!

The wife brought the pā to ʻAiʻai, who seized it and said, "Now that you've returned to me, my bones will live!"

ʻAiʻai said to his wife, "Go back and get a canoe for me – not five anana (fathoms) long, not eight anana long, but ten anana long – that's the canoe I spoke to your father about."

The wife went to her father and asked for the canoe ten anana long, and the canoe was brought out. The father asked, "Who will paddle the canoe?"

"My husband."

When ʻAiʻai heard his wife's response, he went and got the canoe, and with the bird Kamanuwai and the pā Kahuoi, he paddled outside of Māmala Bay, showed the pā of the fisherman, and the aku came up and filled the canoe. The bird ate and was revived. ʻAiʻai returned with the canoe filled with aku and gave the fish to his wife; but the pā [Kahuoi] was taken by the bird Kamanuwai, who guards it. Such is the legend of ʻAiʻai.

Nā Iwi o Pae

Emma M. Beckley (Nakuina)

Some three hundred years ago there lived in the valley of Waipiʻo on the Island of Hawaiʻi a chief named Pae. Before his death, he gave strict injunctions to his poʻe-kahu-ponoʻī, or special body servants, to hide his bones so that they could never be found by anyone, in order to prevent their being desecrated. Pae seems to have suspected the King, who resided at Waipiʻo and who had been his rival, of such a design. After his death, his faithful and devoted servants first performed holehole-iwi, or separation of the bones from the flesh, which was invariably done to persons of high rank. Then they took the bones secretly to a small cave in the perpendicular face of the precipice behind the waters of Hiʻilawe Falls. There they felt that the precious bones were safe, as only two of them knew the place.

Some time after, a famous magician from Kauaʻi came to Waipiʻo on a visit to the King. One day he was looking up towards the head of the valley and watching the play of the waters as they rushed down and over Hiʻilawe Falls. He finally turned to the King and observed: "Why do I see two young men playing with and passing, and re-passing, the waters of Hiʻilawe; by the rainbow surrounding the place, they must be aliʻi." The King assured him that no one could be there, as the face of the rock was steep and perpendicular – and not even a dog could find a footing there. After some days the magician again spoke to the King and insisted the young men lived there, as he had observed them always at the same place. The King then sent his most daring and sure-footed mountaineers, provided with ropes, to examine the place, and to the surprise of everyone, a small cave was found just below the brink of the falls behind, and hidden by, the water. In the cave were two bundles nicely wrapped with the finest kapa, each of which, when opened, was found to contain a perfect skeleton. One of the skeletons was enclosed in a feather cloak inside of the kapa coverings, which was instantly recognized as the well-known cloak of Pae. The other skeleton was supposed to be that of Pae's aikāne, or friend, who had

disappeared at the time of his death. It was never known whether he had committed suicide from love of his friend and chief, or had been slain by the devoted retainers of the latter, so that a congenial spirit would accompany their haku to the other world.

After proper propitiation was made to the enraged spirit, one of the thigh bones of Pae was fashioned into a fishhook for deep-sea fishing. It was an extremely lucky hook, and seemed to have a kind of power to attract fish. It has always been an object of strong desire to the chiefs of those and subsequent days. Battles have been fought over possession of this fishhook.

In those days, chiefs (not just commoners) went fishing and took great pride in their skill as fishermen; in fact, fishing was looked on as one of the necessary manly accomplishments of warriors and statesmen. In using Nā-iwi-o-Pae, the custom has been for the fishermen to call on the spirit of Pae, which had long before been entirely propitiated by the numberless offerings made to it, to assist in attracting the fish and to keep it hooked until it was landed. Thus the famous saying arose—

Ē Pae ē! paʻa ia a paʻa ka kaua iʻa.
(O Pae! hold our fish securely.)

The natives of Hawaiʻi formerly held the belief that the bones of persons of quality had a special attraction for fish and the higher the rank the greater the attraction, so royal bones were much sought after by high and low alike. From this circumstance arose the anxiety manifested by the Great Kamehameha for the proper concealment of his bones, and his dying request to Hoapili to place them where they would be concealed forever from all human sight – not even excepting his own family. The request was most thoroughly carried out by his young kahu, Hoolulu, the reputed younger brother of the chief Hoapili, so that after Kamehameha's death, until today, no one but Hoolulu ever knew where the great Conqueror's bones lay.

Notes

Nā Iwi o Pae ("The Bones of Pae") appeared as "The Legend of the Fishhook, Called Na-iwi-o-Pae, Now in the Government Museum" in *Honolulu Almanac* in 1884 (39-40). Another version, which follows, is from Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (215-7):

It was an old custom to hide the bones of chiefs who were beloved, as ʻUmi's bones were hidden by Koi, in order that they might not be made into arrows to shoot rats with, into fishhooks, needles for sewing tapa, or kahili handles, as is still done today. There is a story told about the bones of Pae which illustrates this custom. Pae was a kahuna and high chief in the time of ʻUmi, son of Liloa and a descendant of Lilinoe, the woman of the mountains. His daughter Kuku-ka-lani was the wife of ʻUmi's older brother Hakau, and his son Hoe is the ancestor of the Pae family today, the living and the dead. ʻUmi had been told by his prophets and diviners that the bones of Pae would make lucky fishhooks because of Pae's descent from Ku-hai-moana and Kuka-hau-ʻula, guardian gods (ʻaumākua) of fishermen. Therefore, in order to get these bones, ʻUmi was anxious to be on hand at the time of Pae's death, and although Pae was now a very old man, ʻUmi was accustomed to take him out on his fishing expeditions. At that time the beach of ʻOhiki as far as Kaʻelehuluhulu was clear [of lava]. ʻUmi was out one day fishing with his chiefs at Makaula. Pae and his sons were in another canoe when Pae was stricken with sudden illness on the sea by Haleʻohiʻu and died there. ʻUmi said, "Take your father ashore and when I am through fishing we will all go up to mourn him."

When they were out of earshot of ʻUmi a man named Lulana, a kahu of Pae, said, "You sons of my lord (haku), let us go and hide the bones of your father, and when ʻUmi returns I will tell him that we lost the body, for I have heard that ʻUmi wants to get hold of his bones." They accordingly landed, hid the body, and later took the bones to the cliffs of Pali-hulaʻana. ʻUmi came to land at the usual place and heard the people on shore wailing, but could not see the body of Pae. "Where is the body of your father?" he asked, and the sons answered falsely, "While we were bringing him in to shore the canoe overturned and a shark took him." "Alas! how I loved Pae!" cried ʻUmi, and because he was so eager to have the bones of Pae he sent out orders to the sorcerers (kāhuna ʻanāʻanā) to pray to death the shark that had taken the body of Pae. Many of the diviners and seers sought the shark and the bones of Pae, and the search extended all over Hawaii.

Finally ʻUmi summoned Niho-nui-o-Kua-ka-wai-ea, a seer

(kāula) from Kauai, with the promise of a rich reward if he found the bones of Pae. Midway out in the channel of ʻAlenuihaha Niho-nui looked and saw the spirit (ʻuhane) of Pae drinking at the spring of Kawaikapu on the cliffs of Waimanu. He therefore went and got the bones and brought them to Kailua where ʻUmi was then living. ʻUmi welcomed the seer with the words, "I have sent for you to find the bones of Pae which his sons tell me a shark has eaten. If this is so I will get Piʻimai-waʻa and Ka-lae-puni to capture and kill the shark." Niho-nui replied, "Here are the bones of Pae. Send for his sons to come here, and fashion their father's bones into hooks. Take the two with you as fishing companions and when you are out at sea boast about the bone hooks." So ʻUmi took the sons of Pae fishing and the two baited the hooks. No sooner had they let them down than the ʻahi and kahala fish bit at them. ʻUmi then called out, "Say, Pae, hold on to our fish!" to which boasting words the sons replied with the boast, "The stars alone know where are Pae's bones. Not until you find the nest of the plover [which migrates to Alaska for nesting] will you find Pae's bones." But at the next catch ʻUmi again called out, "Say, Pae, hold fast to our catch!" The sons began to wonder and to suspect the truth and Hoe, Pae's son, began to be worried lest ʻUmi's boast be true. So he went to see for himself and found that the bones had disappeared, and this was the beginning of a feud between ʻUmi's family and the descendants of Pae.

Nihooleki

Kaehaikiaholeha, whose kino wailua ʻuhane, or spirit body, was known as Nihooleki,[1] was born in Keauhou, Kona, on the Big Island and then went to live at Kuukuua, in Puʻuokapolei, Waiʻanae, on Oʻahu, where he married a woman from Kauaʻi. Kaehaikiaholeha became the ruling aliʻi of Waiʻanae and its greatest fisherman. With his marvelous pā hī aku (pearl-shell aku lure) named Pahuhu, he fished all the headlands along the coast; he knew all the fish and fishing grounds of the district.

Kaehaikiaholeha left his parents and a younger sister in Waiʻanae and went to live in Waimea, Kauaʻi, the birthplace of his wife. When he arrived there, he became the aliʻi of Kauaʻi because his wife was its aliʻi. He fished everyday with his pā Pahuhu; when he lowered it, the fish came up and filled the canoe. His fishing canoe was a double-hulled canoe ten anana (fathoms) long, with twenty paddlers to steady it while he fished.

After Kaehaikiaholeha died, his body was returned to Kuukuua, in Waiʻanae, and laid out in a corpse-house. His parents prayed for his spirit and strengthened it until it went about as if it were a live person again. After this revival, his spirit returned to Waimea, Kauaʻi, and married his former wife; while they lived together, the wife didn't recognize this spirit as her former husband. His new name was Nihooleki. He slept all day, not eating; only his wife ate, and she ate only vegetable food (ʻai), no fish (iʻa).

One day his wife got hungry and went to her brothers for ʻai and iʻa. Her brothers asked her, "Where is your husband?"

"He is sleeping in the house."

"Your husband is strange! If all he does is sleep, how can he keep your stomach satisfied, except perhaps with our iʻa?"

Nihooleki heard these words, and when his wife returned, he said, "Don't your brothers have a pā?"

"A pā – yes."

"Go get it and bring it here."

When his wife arrived at her brothers' place, they asked her, "What brings you here?"

"To get a pā hī aku for your brother-in-law. "

"Good, he will support you now; here is a pā that will catch ten aku,

and one that will catch twenty aku." The wife returned with a pā and called out to her sleeping husband:

> Wake up, Nihooleki,
> Wake up, Nihooleki,
> The nights go by,
> The days go by,
> A fisherman's eyes are wakeful,
> Wake up, here is our pā.

Nihooleki asked: "Which pā?"
"The lālākea (white-finned reef shark)" she replied.
"The fish won't bite that pā," Nihooleki answered; then he chanted:

> We will catch only two aku,
> One for the male god,
> One for the female god,[2]
> The paddlers' hands will be crippled,
> Where is the small Pahuhu?
> So a man can eat and have leftovers,
> The pā hanging from the gable,
> Guarded by the Noio,[3]
> Swept by the current to Maka'ena,
> The place where aku is plentiful,
> So the sharing will be a pleasure,
> The lazy ones will eat,
> The hungry of the uplands of Waiahulu[4] will eat.

The wife went back to her brothers. "What brings you here?" they asked.

"My husband said the fish won't bite this pā, it will bring in only two aku, not enough to make the sharing of the fish a pleasure."

"Where is the pā that the fish will bite?"

"My husband said it is hanging from the gable of the house, guarded by the Noio." They went to look for it and found the pā Pahuhu, guarded by the Noio, who was the bird-sister of Nihooleki. When the wife returned to the house where her husband was sleeping, she called out, "Here is the pā Pahuhu." Nihooleki chanted:

> The pā that fish will bite,

So the sharing will be a pleasure
The lazy ones will eat,
The hungry of the uplands will eat,
At Waiahulu.

The wife threw the pā into the palm of his hand; he got up and kissed it and wept because since he had died, he had not been fishing. Now that he had his pā, Nihooleki said to his wife: "Go and get a canoe from your brothers; not a canoe five anana long, not a single canoe, but a double canoe ten anana long; after you get the canoe, ask for twenty paddlers."[5]

The wife went back to her brothers. "What brings you here?" they asked.

"Your brother-in-law needs a canoe."

"Yes, we have a canoe five anana long."

"Not that canoe – the double canoe ten anana long."

"A lie. There is no double canoe; nor could he paddle one by himself."

The sister said, "The double canoe is there in the canoe shed." A search was made and the double canoe was found where it had been left.

Twenty men boarded the canoe and paddled it to Nihooleki, who recognized it as the canoe he had when he was alive. He said to his wife, "Are you the favorite of your brothers?"

"Yes."

"Then go and ask for twenty men to go with me and steady the canoe while I fish."

When the crew Nihooleki asked for was ready, it went to the canoe landing and remained there with the others, thinking they all were going fishing at the crow of the cock, as was customary. When the cock crowed once, the other fishermen at the canoe landing got into their canoes; when the cock finished crowing, they went fishing. Nihooleki's men waited for him until daylight, and when he didn't show up, they went back home.

Nihooleki was lying down at home, thinking. His wife called out to him: "Get up, go – it is the cool time for fishing, when the sun won't make you drowsy."

"I will go fishing at sunrise." At sunrise Nihooleki rose, got the bailing cup and the gourd filled with his fishing gear and put on his malo. Then he went to the canoe landing with his paddlers, pushed

the canoe out, and anchored it at sea. After his crew boarded it, they paddled out. Nihooleki brought out his pā Pahuhu, and the aku came up and filled the canoe; the men paddled in and threw the fish onto shore; then they paddled out again, and the canoe was filled a second time, and the fish again were thrown onto shore; and so it went until six canoes loads of aku had been piled up on the beach. The wife gave away some, the pigs ate some, the lazy ones ate some, some were cleaned and salted; yet the pile of fish was so big, some fish still remained.[6]

People came down from the uplands with ʻai, or poi; kō, or sugar cane; maiʻa, or bananas; and many other kinds of delicious things to eat. They traded for the fish. When they returned upland, they told others about the fish and the others came down to the sea and returned upland with fish.

Nihooleki and his paddlers went far out to sea, where his brothers-in-law were fishing; when Nihooleki passed by their canoes, they saw his fine body and called him Puʻipuʻiakalawaiʻa ("Stout-bodied fisherman"), and this became Nihooleki's third name.[7] They approached Makaʻena, in Waiʻanae, and saw the land of Oʻahu. Nihooleki again fished there and filled the canoe with aku; he told his paddlers to eat the fish and they ate until they were satisfied,[8] then threw away some and left some carelessly about the canoe. They went on and landed at Kaunolū on Lānaʻi, fished again, caught more fish, and ate until they were satisfied. They went on and arrived at Keauhou, in Kona on Hawaiʻi, where Nihooleki told his paddlers, "Go ashore while I stay in our canoe. Take one aku each, twenty aku for twenty of you. At that shed of coconut leaves in front of the house where the women are seated, throw the fish down and come back without looking behind."[9]

When the paddlers jumped off the canoe, Nihooleki turned it around, and when the paddlers returned, they paddled back to Kauaʻi in one day, where Nihooleki's brothers-in-law were fishing. Nihooleki brought out his pā, and the aku came up and filled his canoe; the brothers-in-law saw the canoe full of fish, so full that the crew had to stand up in the canoe.[10] When this canoe came ashore, Nihooleki seized two aku, and offered them, one to the male fishing god, one to the female; he bathed and returned home and said to his wife, "Go to the paddlers and give them the aku in the canoe." Nihooleki returned home and slept. The fish that remained from his catch was left to rot.

The fishing continued like this for a long time, and the news of the abundant fish eventually reached Kamapuaʻa in the uplands of Waiahulu. He said, "If I could get down to the seashore, I could get

some fish." Kamapua'a was pehu ("hungry," "swollen," "sick with dropsy") and couldn't walk; he was also very heavy, so his men had to carry him on shoulder poles down to the sea.

Before going fishing one day, Nihooleki told his wife, "A pehu man is coming down from the uplands; greet him as if he were your husband, as he is my friend."

After Nihooleki left for fishing, Kamapua'a arrived and peered into the opening to the house. The wife said, "Go away, you smelly man!" Kamapua'a went to sit down by the pig house with his men and waited for Nihooleki to return.

When Nihooleki returned with fish, he threw himself on Kamapua'a and kissed him. Then he said to his wife, "You are strange! I told you to take care of my friend, but no! What of it? I am leaving with my friend, while you stay here." Nihooleki ordered fish to be given to his friend. Kamapua'a's men gathered up some fish, and still some were left over.[11]

When Nihooleki and Kamapua'a were ready to leave Waimea for Wai'anae, Nihooleki said to his wife, "Give the child you are carrying my name, Kaehaikiaholeha; here are my club (la'au) and my feather cape ('ahu'ula), the tokens of recognition should my child search for me."

When the wife heard this bequest, she wept, realizing this person was her former husband, Kaehaikiaholea. When the other ali'i of Kaua'i and the brothers-in-law heard that Nihooleki was actually their ali'i, they chased after him, but Nihooleki and Kamapua'a dove into the sea and surfaced at Kuukuua in Wai'anae. One Kaua'i ali'i, Pōhaku-o-Kaua'i ("Rock of Kaua'i") pressed after them, and remains to this day as a stone in Wai'anae.

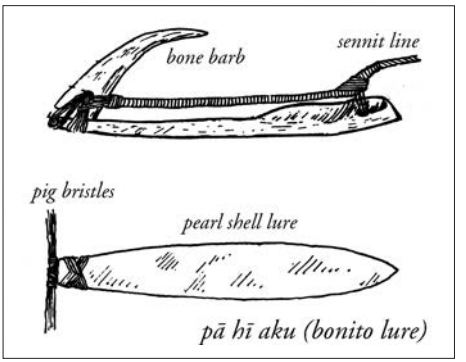
As the two friends approached the house of Nihooleki's parents and younger sister, they stopped at the corpse-house where Nihooleki's body lay. Nihooleki told his friend: "Listen, go to our parents and ask them for my things; under the threshold is the feather helmet (mahiole); under the sleeping place of our younger sister is the feather cape; at the foot of the sleeping place is the whale-tooth necklace (lei niho palaoa); at the inside corner of the house is the feather standard (kāhili).[12] Take our younger sister as your wife because she is big and beautiful." Kamapua'a went to the parents and younger sister, and did as his friend had told him to do – he married Nihooleki's sister.

Kaehaikiaholeha, also known as Nihooleki, entered the corpse-house (pū'o'a kupapa'u) and disappeared.

Notes

"Nihooleki" has been translated by Esther T. Mookini from the Hawaiian text in Fornander, Vol. 4, 488-497.

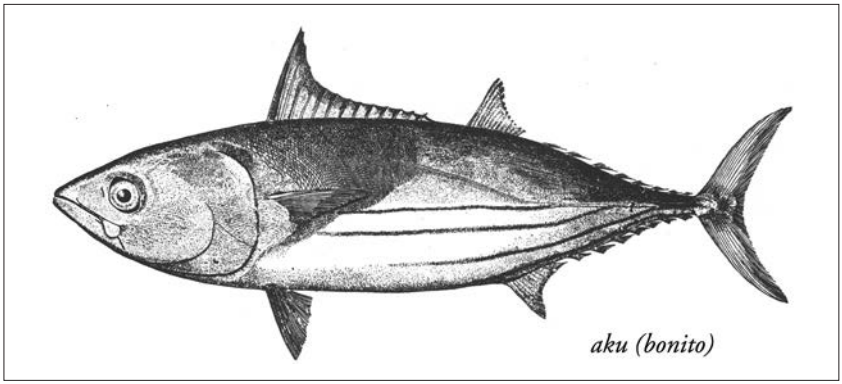
Aku was caught in great quantity during spring and summer, when it was plentiful and fat. Kepelino praises it as the most delicious fish (Titcomb 61). Nordhoff notes "it is no exaggeration to call it the herring of the South Seas. Its flesh is rich, palatable, and nourishing, and one can eat it with relish every day" (235).



A good pā hi aku (lure-hook for catching aku) was a highly prized possession and given a name. (See note 18 in ʻAiʻai.) Nordhoff writes: "[Tahitian bonito-fishermen in the 1920's] are invariably the owners of large collections of pearl-shell shanks, collections which they care for, polish and look over as if the bits of shell were jewels. Three or four of my elderly friends have rolls of flannel with little pockets into which each shell fits – the whole stowed away carefully at the bottom of an old camphor-wood box. It is not easy to get a glimpse of such a collection, only examined and gloated over when the owner is alone. Each shank is named; Patiti (Thunderbolt), Ahimaa Poipoi (Morning Oven), and Ahimaa Ahiahi (Evening Oven) are typical names. The two latter signify that when the fisherman starts out in the morning or afternoon with that particular hook, the women at home kindle the native ground oven (ahimaa) before the return of the canoe, so sure are they of the shell's success. The owner of a valuable shell hestitates to display it for a reason obscure to a stranger, but clear to the man who knows the Polynesian. An old and highly successful bonito-hook is property almost beyond price, cherished not only for its utilitarian value, but because in the course of forty or fifty years it has acquired in the catching of countless fish a tremendous charge of mana. To display it is to run the risk of having a friend ask for it, and to the Polynesian, such a request is difficult, it not impossible, to refuse" (239).

1. In the Hawaiian belief system, the body and spirit could exist separately. After death, the spirit leaves the body and goes to dwell with its ancestors; or it may be prayed back into the body; or it may remain for a while as a spirit among the living, as in this legend.

2. Kamakau describes the distribution of the aku catch: "When the aku fishing canoes and malau canoes [canoes carrying the bait] came ashore, the women would separate the tabu fish for the men's eating houses from those for the free eating, ʻainoa, of the household. First the head fisherman went ashore with fish in his right and left hands and went into the Kuʻula heiau to pay homage to the gods. He cast down the fish for male ʻaumakua and for the female ʻaumakua, and then returned to give fish to the canoe men, to those who had done the chumming, and to those who had done the actual fishing" (*Works* 73-4).



aku (bonito)

3. Deep-sea aku fishermen looked for the noio, or Hawaiian tern, to find aku because the aku and the noio were found together feeding on the same small fish. Kamakau describes the scene: "The place where the aku would be was where the noio birds gathered above the pīhā [a herring], the nehu pala [anchovy] and the other small fishes that leaped above the surface to escape the snapping of the aku. Then the noio would swoop down screeching over the fish. These birds were companions of the aku and the kawakawa [a type of bonito] – where these fishes went, the birds sought them out" (*The Works* 72).

Nordhoff gives a more extensive listing of a fisherman's knowledge of seabird behavior as it relates to fishing in Tahiti:

A thorough understanding of the behavior and feeding habits

of these birds is indispensable to the bonito-fisherman; it will save him many a mile of useless paddling and guide him to schools of fish, from which he can quickly load his canoe. The following sketchy bits of information will give an idea of the importance and scope of this bird-lore.

Bobbies, when in large flocks and unaccompanied by other birds, are apt to be over a school of albacore (ahi) or porpoise; or ordinary bonito travelling too fast for a canoe to come up with them. When the birds of such a flock dive repeatedly, but level off just before touching the water, they are following a school of flying-fish. When boobies are feeding close to a flock of feeding terns, but separate from them, the former are probably accompnying albacore, the latter bonito. Boobies and terns mixed and feeding eagerly, with cries of excitement, mean bonito which will take the hook and not travel too fast. A cloud of small white terns moving high and slowly above the sea is an indication of albacore too big to take on bonito tackle. One, two, or three white terns, circling rapdily indicate dolphin (mahimahi). A cloud of small dark terns with white caps (noio) unaccompanied by other birds, means very small bonito, not apt to take the hook. The presence of frigate-birds above the boobies is a sign of good fishing, but an indication of bad weather on the way. When tropic-birds are diving among other kinds, it is a sign that the small fry are too small to resemble a bonito-hook. And so on ad infinitum. (249-250)

4. Waiahulu is a stream and area far upland in Waimea Canyon.

5. Common fishermen went aku fishing in a single canoe with as few as one or two paddlers, with the fisherman at the back of the canoe acting as steerman while trolling. Nihooleki is an ali‘i, or chief, so he can command a double canoe with twenty paddlers, an advantage in chasing schools of aku at sea.

6. The standard for a good catch in Polynesia was that fish could be left behind to rot on the beach after everyone who wanted any had taken all that could be used. Robert Aitken reports on the use of this standard in Tubuai storytelling about the catch taken with rau ere (a coconut leaf sweep used to encircle fish so they could be scooped up with a net):

> The share for each person, including as persons even the small children who had come out at the finish of the labor as spectators only, was about 20 fish. This is the mildest version of the story; other informants stated that many fish were left on the shore by those to whom they were distributed, as it was not worthwhile carrying home more than the families and their neighbors could consume. Another version of the story is that the boat in which the fish were loaded belonged to a Rurutu schooner then in port. The boat took one full load to the schooner, the fish being subsequently salted and dried, and taken to Rurutu; after delivering the boat-load to the schooner, the boat returned to the rau ere and took ashore enough fish to more than satisfy all those present. Still other versions soar beyond the limits to which even a fish story may aspire. It is certain, at any rate, that upon some former occasions vastly greater hauls have been made than those I have seen. (61-62)

The same standard for a great catch (i.e., fish left behind to rot) is used in the story of Puniakaiʻa.

7. The nickname "Puʻipuʻi-a-ka-lawaiʻa" was also given to the famous aliʻi aku fisherman ʻUmi-a-Liloa, who was noted as a strong canoe paddler (Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 11, 20).

8. "As the bonito expeditions start before the morning meal [i.e., at about four in the morning], the crews often eat raw fish while they work." MacGregor (111-112). The fishermen left before sunrise so they would arrive at the fishing grounds at daybreak when the aku were known to feed on surface fish.

9. Keauhou is Nihooleki's birthplace; so Nihooleki has returned to share his catch with the people of Keauhou. It was common for the hero or heroine in a Hawaiian legend to travel from one end of the island chain to the other, endowing him or her with a heroic stature because of the great distance covered.

10. "In a large school with the fish biting well, [a fisherman] can take 100 fish in less than half an hour" MacGregor (111).

11. Kamapuaʻa, the pig demi-god, is a forest dweller representing

the uplands, and his friendship with Nihooleki symbolizes the close link between sea and mountain, the fisherman and the forest dweller. The traditional story of Kamapua‘a doesn’t mention Nihooleki, but contains an incident in which the pig demi-god is refused fish. Kamapua‘a is living in the uplands of Waiahulu when he hears news of a great catch of fish at Kalalau. He descends to demand a share. His family and their fisherman Wailinuu fail to recognize him and refuse to give him any fish. Angered, he forces his parents and his brother to humble themselves, then takes on his pig form and devours the fisherman. (See Fornander Vol. 5, “The Legend of Kamapua‘a,” Chapter VII; and Mookini and Neizman, Chapters 13 and 14.) The fish that Nihooleki gives the pig god seems to heal and invigorate him, so that Kamapua‘a is able to travel with the fisherman to O‘ahu.

12. These are symbols of Nihooleki’s royalty; Nihooleki is apparently passing on to his friend Kamapua‘a the right to rule Wai‘anae. See *Ancient O‘ahu: Stories from Fornander and Thrum* for epidsodes from the traditions of Kamapua‘a.

Kalamainu‘u

Towards dawn the priest in charge of the ceremonies in the heiau (place of worship) was prepared for the temple service. There were several female idols posted at suitable places, two of which were covered with ‘ōlena kapa (tapa dyed yellow): Kalamainu‘u, or Kihawahine, a mo‘o (lizard) goddess; and a rival, Walinu‘u, a manifestation of Haumea, the goddess-ancestress of the Hawaiian people, who also became known as Kāmeha‘ikaua when she entered bodily into a breadfruit-tree through her supernatural powers to avenge the death of her husband Makea, who had been killed and hung from the branches of the tree. Makea was better known as Puna‘aikoa‘e, an ali‘i of the island of O‘ahu.[1]

Once while traveling around O‘ahu from Waikīkī, Puna‘aikoa‘e (“Puna, ruled by the koa‘e, or tropic bird”[2]) and several companions arrived at Waimānalo and found the rolling surf very attractive, so they stopped and paddled out together. When they reached the surfing area, Puna‘aikoa‘e saw a beautiful woman; the two were immediately attracted to each other.

“This is not the best place to surf,” said the woman.

“Where is the best place?” asked Puna‘aikoa‘e.

“Farther out – I will show you.”

The woman desired the handsome ali‘i, and he desired her. In those days, if two people desired each other, nothing held them back; the couple paddled together for a while, bantering with each other.

“Let’s go farther out where the surf runs high, then ride back to shore,” suggested the woman.

They kept paddling until the shore, then the hills and mountains, were out of sight. Puna‘aikoa‘e stopped looking behind, charmed by the woman paddling ahead of him. The people on shore mourned the disappearance of their ali‘i, though, strangely, no canoe was sent out to search for him.

Puna‘aikoa‘e and the woman kept on paddling until they landed on Moloka‘i, and leaving their surfboards on the beach, they climbed a hillside and entered the cave of this woman, who was the mo‘o (lizard) goddess Kalamainu‘u. He became her obedient captive. She was easy with him and provided him with food and all his other needs, since she

herself lacked nothing. Thus, she chose him for her husband, and he consented to the union; he lived a long time with this goddess, without any human companionship.

One day while standing near the mouth of the cave, Punaʻaikoaʻe heard loud cheering and wanted very much to go and see what was going on, but he hesitated because his wife had threatened to kill him if he left the cave without her permission. He had lived patiently in the cave for a long while, but now he desired some freedom, so he went back into the cave and asked his wife: "What is that cheering I hear just below here?"

"It must be some people surf-riding or playing maika (rolling or shot-putting a stone disk for distance) or some other games, and the winners are celebrating their victories."

"I would like very much to see these games."

"If you wish – tomorrow would be a good time to go."

At daylight Punaʻaikoaʻe got up and went down to where the people were assembled. While loitering about watching the games, he was recognized by a resident of the place named Hinale, the brother of his moʻo wife Kalamainuʻu. After the games, Hinale invited Punaʻaikoaʻe home to eat and pass the time. While they conversed, Hinale asked Punaʻaikoaʻe about where he lived and what kind of house he lived in.

"I live mauka in a cave," replied Punaʻaikoaʻe. From this answer, Hinale knew who the stranger was, for it was known an Oʻahu aliʻi had been taken by Kalamainuʻu. Hinale was concerned for his brother-in-law and questioned him more fully about how he had come to Molokaʻi, so Punaʻaikoaʻe told him the story.

Hinale then said: "Your wife isn't a real woman, but a goddess (wahine akua). When you return, approach the cave quietly and unseen, and you will discover her real manners and character, for you will find her eating spiders and their webs. She will know you spied on her and get angry at us because I told you about her true nature. I tell you these things because of my regard for you – your former Oʻahu wife Walinuʻu and her younger sisters are awaiting your return, so I will help you escape. You must be careful till my sister gets over her anger. When she grows fond of you again, groan and ask for water. When she asks you what kind of water, tell her 'The water of Poliʻahu at Mauna Kea.'[3] Before she goes, puncture her water gourd to delay her when she tries to get this water. This will give you time to escape to the Lua o Pele (Pit of Pele, the volcano goddess, at Kīlauea) where an old woman

with very sickly looking eyes (i.e., Pele) will be your protector – she is your first wife's sister. Kalamainuʻu will seek my life for helping you escape, but I want to save your life, so you may join your former wife Walinuʻu again."

Returning home, Punaʻaikoaʻe approached the cave quietly, and looking in, saw Kalamainuʻu in her moʻo form chasing spiders with her mouth open. Then he knew what Hinale had told him was true. He stepped backward a little and made a noise. His wife heard him and changed back into her human form quickly. As he entered, she abused him, saying, "I know you came quietly earlier and then stepped backward and made a noise thinking I hadn't seen you. I should eat your eyes! Hinale told you what to do, and you came home and showed me how deceitful you are." Before he had left to watch the games, she had ordered him to shout when he approached the cave, so she would know he was coming back. While Kalamainuʻu was angry, Punaʻaikoaʻe remained quiet, waiting till her anger, which stood up like neck-feathers rising in the wind, passed. Their disagreement eventually died away like a failing whirlwind in a spent mumuku (sudden land squall) beaten back by a cloud.

They lived together lovingly after that, and she became very much charmed with his words, granting whatever he wanted. But Punaʻaikoaʻe began to long for freedom, so one day he began groaning, as Hinale had instructed him to do.

"Why are you groaning?" his wife asked.

"I am suddenly thirsty for water."

"What kind of water?"

"The water of Poliʻahu at Mauna Kea."

"Why that kind of water?"

"Because the water is mixed with ice, and I have been accustomed to drinking it since childhood. My grandparents always had water brought from there. When I traveled, the water was carried along, and when it was almost gone, more would be gotten. That is how it was until I became your husband. You have water, but it isn't as refreshing as the icy water of Mauna Kea. But I am not going to ask you to get some because I know Poliʻahu is very far away."

Kalamainuʻu hung her head down, then lifted her eyes and said: "You don't thirst for that water, my dear, but only want to be troublesome and make me work hard. Well, I will fetch your water for you, or else you might say I refused your request." Punaʻaikoaʻe had already punctured the bottom of the water gourd.

Kalamainuʻu left for Mauna Kea, and Punaʻaikoaʻe followed her, going in a canoe and landing at Maui, then continuing on to Hawaiʻi and landing at Kona. There he boarded a canoe for Kaʻū and landed at a point; from there he traveled to Poliʻahu, and then to the edge of the Lua o Pele (Pit of Pele). The people of the volcano recognized him and called out: "Here comes our older sister's husband." Punaʻaikoaʻe hurried to where they were and told them about his escape.

Pele responded: "Your wife Kalamainuʻu will come and wage war against us; she will be very angry with you because we have taken you away from her. Why didn't she find her own husband during her day of beauty? Then no one would bother her; instead she lured you away from our older sister. You shall reside with us until it is safe to release you to your motherly wife."[4]

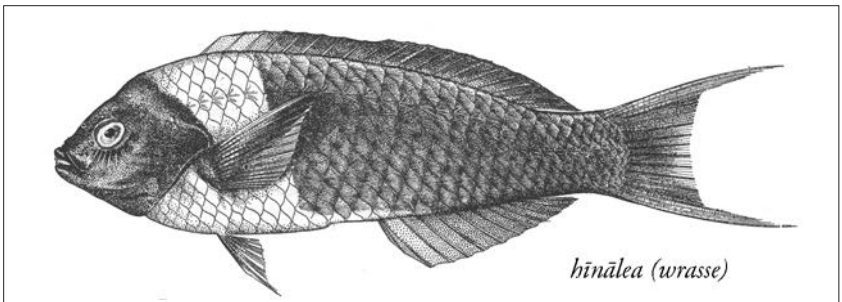
Meanwhile, Kalamainuʻu was at Poliʻahu trying to fill the punctured water gourd. Whenever she filled it, the water drained out. Finally she grew tired and looked around her and realized her husband had fled. She was angry and summoned all the moʻo gods of Molokaʻi, Lānaʻi, Maui, Kahoʻolawe, and Hawaiʻi, for she knew her husband was at Kīlauea with Pele folks.[5]

After the moʻo gods had assembled at Kukuilauania,[6] they went up to Kīlauea and stood at the edge of Pele's crater. Kalamainuʻu asked the people of the crater to release her husband. They refused, saying "This is our sister's husband; you can't have him back, mischievous woman."

Kalamainuʻu became very angry and said: "If you folks won't release my husband, I will command my people to fill this pit with phlegm, and put out your fire." When Pele again refused to release Punaʻaikoaʻe, the moʻo gods filled the pit with phlegm and almost extinguished the volcanic fires. However, the fire of Pele's brother Kamohoaliʻi wasn't put out, and from his fire the other fires became active again, and the phlegm of the moʻo gods evaporated in the great heat. Kalamainuʻu was unable to withstand Pele's power, and the heat became so intense that many of the lizard people died in the burrows they made as they were escaping. Kalamainuʻu fled and plunged into a pond called Aka.[7] Thus, she was not only deprived of a husband, she barely escaped with her life.

When Kalamainuʻu returned to Molokaʻi, she searched for her brother Hinale to kill him because she knew he had helped her husband escape.

When Hinale found out his sister was after him, he left home and plunged into the sea, transforming himself into a fish called the hīnālea



(a wrasse). Kalamainu'u dove in after him, searching at the near and distant ko'a (fishing grounds) where hīnālea were generally found, but she couldn't find him, no matter where she looked. She passed 'Ōunauna's (hermit crab's) place so often, he grew tired of seeing her and asked, "Who are you looking for?"

She replied, "I am looking for Hinale."

"You will never find him unless you follow my instructions – otherwise, you will be disappointed, just as you were when Pele deprived you of your husband."

"I will follow your directions – but if I don't catch Hinale, I will kill you."

'Ōunauna told her to go home and get some 'inalua (a vine) and weave it into a basket and then take and place the basket in the sea; after a while, she should dive down and she would see Hinale had entered the basket and was trapped inside.

Kalamainu'u followed 'Ōunauna's instructions, but when she dove down, she found Hinale had not entered the basket; he just circled around outside. She surfaced and waited a while, then dove down again, but Hinale was still swimming around outside. She waited and dove, waited and dove until her nose was inflamed and her eyes were red, yet she couldn't catch Hinale.

Finally, she went back to 'Ōunauna and said angrily: "Here you are – I will kill you now! You pretended to help me catch Hinale, but instead, you intended to kill me. How can you know how to catch Hinale when I myself, with my great power, don't know? Is it possible for a creeping beach 'Ōunauna to know more than me? I am going to kill you so you will never creep along the beach again!"

'Ōunauna replied: "Wait, let's talk further – then if you are still not satisfied, you can kill me; but if I satisfy you, I should live. Tell me what happened so I can figure out why you failed."

"I don't want to talk about it any more."

"Look, if you tell me briefly what you did, perhaps I can remember something I forgot to tell you."

"All right, I will tell you. But I still intend to kill you for making me suffer."

"Stop your complaints and tell me what happened. Let's not be hasty about my death – if I die, who will be your companion and entertain you?"

Kalamainu'u explained angrily: "Well, I returned home and went up and got the 'inalua and wove it into a basket; then I turned the nose of the basket inside out and dropped the basket into the sea at a suitable place; after a while, I dove down, but there was no Hinale in the basket. Thinking it wasn't in a good place, I moved the basket to another place, but when I dove down, the basket was still empty. I continued doing this until I was exhausted, so I came here to kill you to soothe the headache I got after following your instructions."

"Aha! I forgot to mention the bait: you must go and dive for wana (sea urchin), and then get the 'ōhiki (sand crab) from the beach. Pound these together and put the mixture in the basket; also, the nose of the basket which you turned inside out must be reversed so once inside the basket, Hinale can't escape; then put the basket in a suitable place in the sea. After a while, dive down, and you will find Hinale has entered the basket, for he will have seen that his two companions, wana and 'ōhiki, are dead. Once he is in the basket, he will be trapped."

Kalamainu'u followed 'Ōunauna's instructions and captured Hinale, and this has been the method of catching hīnālea every since.[8]

After the contest between Pele and Kalamainu'u, Puna'aikoa'e returned to his first wife, Walinu'u, on O'ahu. The double names of the women who fought over him reveal their goddess character; in their rivalry for the affections of Puna'aikoa'e and jealousy of each other, several conflicts occurred between the first wife Walinu'u and the second wife Kalamainu'u. During their fighting, Kalamainu'u was blinded and Walinu'u's nose was broken, as can be seen in their images exhibited in the House of Papa in the heiau.

After disappearing at Waimānalo, Puna'aikoa'e was succeeded as the ali'i of O'ahu by another ali'i. When Puna'aikoa'e returned to O'ahu, he and his wife Walinu'u resided in upper Kalihi. Walinu'u occasionally went crabbing at He'eia in Ko'olau (the windward side of O'ahu) and other localities.

On one such occasion, while she was crabbing, Puna'aikoa'e went

over to a banana field of a neighbor ali‘i and rested. In the refreshing shade of the banana plants, he fell asleep, and while he slept, he was arrested by the watchman of the field and charged with stealing bananas. His malo (loin cloth) was loosened, his hands were tied, and he was led thus to Honolulu and there strangled. His dead body was hung from the branch of a breadfruit tree that stood on the northern side of Waikahalulu Falls (in Nu‘uanu stream in the present Queen Lili‘uokalani Park).

While Walinu‘u was gathering seaweed and crabs at the places she usually frequented, she heard about her husband’s misfortune and hastily girded her pōhuehue skirt (a fishing garment) about her, without thinking of putting on her real skirt, and she went to see her husband’s body hanging between the branches of the breadfruit tree. Many people were gathered about. As she drew near she cried and wailed piteously, whereby she was recognized as the wife of the deceased. Afterward as she was sitting with grief for the death of her innocent husband, she thought about taking revenge for this wanton killing; therefore, she cracked open the breadfruit tree. The people fell in awe of this wonderful event. She dropped her pōhuehue skirt where she sat, then stood up naked and entered the tree, which she closed again around herself. This event occasioned much talk at the time, and the news of it spread among all the ali‘i.

While the body of Mākea (Puna‘aikoa‘e) was hanging from the tree, numerous dogs gathered underneath, attracted there by the smell, among them the pet dog of the ali‘i who had ordered Mākea killed. When the dog went home, it was wagging its tail at his master, and they gambolled about with joy. As they were thus rejoicing the dog leaped up and bit its master’s throat, so that he died immediately. Strange happening this – the fruit of death following in consequence of the unjust killing of Mākea.[9]

Notes

This version of the Kalamainu‘u story was published in Thrum’s *Hawaiian Annual* in 1913 (117-25) under the title “Puna‘aikoa‘e” and was later reprinted in shortened form in *More Hawaiian Folk Tales* (Thrum 1923, 185-96). The story uses a framing tale of a man charmed away from his wife by a goddess (a common folkloric motif throughout the world) to explain the origin of one type of Hawaiian basket trap

used in reef fishing by women. Women generally fished near shore, on the reefs, or in streams and ponds while men did the deep-sea fishing.

1. The multiple names of the two goddesses in this story has resulted in some confusion in the original text. Kihawahine was a Maui chiefess who was transfigured into and worshiped as the moʻo goddess Kalamainuʻu; her rival in this legend, Walinuʻu, was also a moʻo goddess (Kamakau, *People* 85). Walinuʻu and Haumea are sometimes mentioned as separate goddesses, but Walinuʻu is also a manifestation of Haumea (Beckwith 200), the ancestress of the Hawaiian people, who also became known as Kāmehaʻikaua (or "Kāmehaʻikana," lit. "a multitude of descendants", as the name is spelled in some texts). Haumea is also called Papa, another manifestation of this goddess. Kamakau writes that the moʻo goddesses Walinuʻu and Kalamainuʻu "were represented by post images (poʻe kia hoʻomanaʻo) in the heiaus, where they were in the line of goddesses (lalani akua wahine). The rule of the chief who had faith in these moʻo to watch over his kingdom would not be shaken" (*People* 85).

The moʻo, a supernatural lizard, often female, inhabited and guarded ponds and streams: "They lay in water, from two to five anana in length [twelve to thirty feet] and as black in color as the blackest negro. If given a drink of ʻawa they would turn from side to side like the keel of a canoe in the water" (Kamakau, *People* 83). No such large water lizards actually existed in Hawaiʻi; however, small skinks and geckos were kino-lau, or bodies, of the moʻo, and these small reptiles were thought to be descendants of the supernatural moʻo (Handy and Pukui 125; Rice 110). The moʻo were fond of yellow – the water in and trees around their habitats were of this color (Handy and Pukui 125). Yellow tapa was used to cover the images of these goddesses in heiau.

According to Beckwith, moʻo worship was probably brought to Hawaiʻi from Tahiti, where moʻo are worshiped by the royal Oropaʻa family (128); according to Handy and Pukui, the moʻo migration came under the aliʻi Moʻo-i-nanea ("lizard-that-enjoys-itself") and landed first on Oʻahu.

Although moʻo could be malevolent (Handy and Pukui 125), they usually benefited their worshipers, providing them with an abundance of fish and seafood and taking special care of the poor and fatherless (Kamakau, *People* 83-5). In the legend "Kamanu and the Moo" (Pukui *Folktales* 50-51), the moʻo woman is portrayed as benevolent: after she takes Kamanu, "a strong, handsome man," to live with her as

her husband in her cave at the bottom of a stream, she promises to supply his family with freshwater shrimp and fish; however, when he mistakenly disobeys her when he returns to his family on land for a brief visit, his moʻo wife abandons him. He grieves to death, longing for "their pleasant home at the river bottom."

In contrast, Kalamainuʻu is portrayed as morally wrong for taking another goddess' husband, though her action lead to something beneficial – the invention of a method for trapping fish. In the Kamakau version of the Kalamainuʻu story, the moʻo woman is portrayed somewhat less villainously, and we are told that she was eventually worshiped as an ʻaumakua for fishing with basket traps. (See note 7.)

2. The habits of the koaʻe, or white-tailed tropic bird, are described in *A Field Guide to the Birds of Hawaii and the Tropical Pacific* (Princeton UP, 1987) as follows: "Flight buoyant and acrobatic, particularly when birds soar on updrafts against cliff faces. At sea, they plunge to catch fish and squid. More often seen inland than other tropic birds. Nests on cliff faces and in trees. May be seen over dense rain forest or in barren volcanic craters" (76). The Pukui-Elbert dictionary (1984) says that Punaʻaikoaʻe "lived at Pū-ʻula, Puna, Hawaiʻi, near the place called Koaʻe (which may be named for him). As a tropic bird he often flew to Pali-kapu-o-Ka-moho-aliʻi (sacred cliff of Ka-moho-aliʻi) at Kī-lau-ea and hovered there (this is why so many tropic birds are seen there today)." A figure whose bird form is found both near the seacoast and the volcano, Punaʻaikoaʻe is fought over by the goddesses associated with both realms.

3. Poliʻahu is a land division on Mauna Kea ("white mountain") on the Big Island. Mauna Kea, Hawaiʻi's tallest mountain, is covered with snow during the cold, rainy months of Hoʻoilo. Poliʻahu is the name of the Hawaiian snow goddess (lit. "garment [for the] bosom"), referring to the snow that clads the mountain.

4. Walinuʻu, a manisfestation of Haumea, is called "motherly" by Pele both because Walinuʻu is an older woman and because Haumea was a goddess of fertility and was reborn and bore children in many successive generations; Haumea has been identified in some texts as Pele's mother, though Pele calls her "our older sister" in this story. See Beckwith for a discussion of Haumea and her various forms (276-290).

5. Beckwith says the moʻo is "one of the Pele family's terrible forms" (127). In a note to "The Story of the Oʻoʻpu" (Pukui *Folktales* 48-49), Beckwith writes: "The moʻo seems to be regarded as an earthquake deity and to be for this reason connected with the goddess of the volcano. Pools of water formed in earthquake cracks are believed to be inhabited by moʻo, and two pools, one at Kalapana in Puna district and the other some miles distant, are supposed to contain, one the head, the other the tail of a gigantic moʻo who is the guardian of Pali-uli in the Laieikawai story, and the moʻo who provides for her grandson Aukele-nui-aiku in Fornander's story of that name."

Despite the family relationship, Pele, associated with volcanic fire, and the moʻo, associated with water, seem to have a natural enmity for each other in Hawaiian traditions. In Emerson's *Pele and Hiiaka*, for example, Hiʻiaka, Pele's sister, battles the moʻo wherever she meets them on her journey to escort Pele's lover Lohiʻau from Kauaʻi to Pele on the Big Island.

6. According to E.M. Nakuina (*Hawaii: Its Legends, Their People* 34), Kukuilauania is "a mile beyond Makea," about 9 miles north of Hilo. From Kukuilauania, Hiʻiaka first saw the smoke rising from Kumukahi in Puna signifying the destruction of her friend Hopoe by Pele's fire.

7. Lokoaka; possibly a variant of Loko-Waka, a pool in Ke-au-kaha, Hilo, where another moʻo goddess named Waka escaped Pele's fire.

8. Kalamainuʻu's frustration with the defective fishing basket recalls her frustration with the punctured water gourd. Why ʻŌunauna [hermit crab] knows how to catch the hīnālea and thus is able to instruct Kalamainuʻu in the technique is not clear. Unauna (a variant of ʻŌunauna) appears as a demi-god in "Nanaue," where he helps slay a man-eating shark.

In the legend of Kalamainuʻu, ʻŌunauna's advice about bait is perhaps diversionary, as the hermit crab is a common bait on Pacific islands; whereas in this story, hermit crab suggests that the sea urchin and sand crab be used for bait instead.

Another version of the mythic origin of the hīnaʻi hīnālea, or hīnālea fishing basket, is given in Kamakau's *Works of the People of Old* (79-82). In this version, Kalamainuʻu makes love to Punaʻaikoaʻe as he surfs off a beach in Kapaʻa, Kauaʻi, and brings him to her cave

located in the uplands of Mokulēʻia, Oʻahu. Kamakau's version doesn't include the incidents on the Big Island and Kalamainuʻu's battle with Pele; however, it does contain a more detailed description of the manufacture and use of the hīnaʻi hīnālea. According to Kamakau, two men, Kuao and Ahilea, tell Kalamainuʻu to kill Hinale and his companion ʻAkilolo because they were wrong in betraying her secret moʻo identity to Punaʻaikoaʻe; Kuao and Ahilea then tell her how Hinale and his companion can be captured:

> [Hinale and ʻAkilolo] like the ʻōhiki crabs of this beach to eat with the sweet potatoes which they cultivate in Kanoa, Keoneʻae, and the uplands of Makaleha, but they are unskilled in torch fishing. You can cause their deaths through their fondness of ʻōhiki. Go gather some ʻinalua vines, observing a kapu, and on your return weave them into a trap. Begin at the entrance and when the part that goes in [the funnel] is finished, then bend [the warps] back to form the container. Spread apart (puʻumana aʻe) the ʻinalua kukulu [the warps], and bend them to shape the round part of the basket. When you see that the container has filled out and is big enough, then decrease its size by pushing together (huʻe) the ʻinalua kukulu until the hīnaʻi is completed. When the weaving of the hīnaʻi is completed, the kapu will be over. Then go and dig ʻōhiki crabs, take the hīnaʻi into the sea, put in lots of pebbles from the tide pools, and set it in a good place, where there is a crevice so that the sea runs in and out. The name of such a 'good place' is au [haunt]. Remove pebbles until the hīnaʻi is properly balanced. Then go to a coral head, chew the ʻōhiki, dive into the sea and place them in the hīnaʻi and then go off to some distance. After a while dive again – Hinale and ʻAkilolo will have come to eat their favorite food and you will find your enemies there in the hīnaʻi.

In Kamakau's version, Kalamainuʻu kills Hinale and Hinale's companion and tears them into little pieces, which become the hīnālea fish. "In those days there were always plenty of hīnālea caught by setting traps from the water of Kumalaekawa to the cape of Kaʻena – so many that a stench arose from the racks where they were drying. Kalamainuʻu became an ʻaumakua for trap fishing, ʻaumakua hoʻoluʻuluʻu, at those places."

Beckley's description of the hīnaʻi hīnālea and its use differs somewhat from Kamakau's (Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries").

That this story concerning the origin of the hīnaʻi hīnālea tells of a sister learning to make the hīnaʻi in order to catch her brother may have its roots in a belief found also in New Guinea, that only family members could catch family members who were fish. In his autobiography *Kiki: Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire 1968), Albert Maori Kiki explains that only members of his father's clan could catch the larovea fish because only they knew the fish's secret name, passed down in the family from the ancestor, an ugly man who became the first larovea fish (26). Other fish belonged to other clans through such ancestral connections. For example, the Kauri clan was related to the Maria fish and knew its secret name, and only this clan was allowed to catch it (27). Of course, because the fish was an ancestor, the clan could not eat it and had to give it away when it was caught.

In the Hawaiian belief system, a dead family member could be prayed into the animal form of an ancestor, becoming the family's ʻaumakua, or guardian spirit; family members were prohibited from eating the animal. Such prohibtions against eating the fish that one caught seem to have encourageed the distribution and exchange of food so vital to the cohesiveness of Pacific island societies. Kiki explains, "Only my father's people were allowed to catch [larovea fish] but could not eat them. All the fish they caught were distributed among the other people of the village. … [My father's people] were not given anything directly in exchange. But there is so much exchange of food going on in Orokolo that the people do not bother even to have a market. When a man has a big catch of fish or a large yam harvest, he will automatically distribute some of the food to neighbours, friends, and relatives" (26).

9. Another version of the story of the breadfruit tree appears in Kamakau's *Tales and Traditions* (11-13). Kāmehaʻikana lives with her husband Mākea at ʻIolekaʻa, in Heʻeia, on the Koʻolau coast of Oʻahu. Mākea is captured and led away to be sacrificed at the heiau of Pākākā (Honolulu Harbor, where Aloha Tower is today). Kāmehaʻikana saves him by opening up the breadfruit tree at Nini, at Waikahalulu, in Nuʻuanu, and the two escape into the tree. The breadfruit tree is cut down and fashioned into a goddess named Kāmehaʻikana: "Kāmehaʻikana became one of the goddesses of the chiefs of Oʻahu; she was taken by the chiefs of Hāna, Maui; she became a goddess for Kamehameha during his reign."

Punia

In ancient times in the uplands of Kohala on the Big Island, lived a man named Leimakani and his wife Hina; for a long time their marriage was childless, but they lived well – he was a sweet potato farmer of the uplands of Honoipu, and, for seafood, he dove for lobster at the seashore.

One day, Hina began to crave dark-shelled coconut (niu-hiwa). This craving worried Leimakani because women were forbidden to eat niu by the gods. Since he was a man who strictly observed the kapu of the gods, he couldn't satisfy his wife's craving. He believed his wife was craving niu because she was pregnant, but he wasn't sure. Soon after Hina told her husband about another craving: "Ē my dear husband, earlier I craved niu-hiwa, and now I'm craving banana (mai'a pōpō'ulu). I know women are forbidden to eat coconut and banana,[1] so why am I craving these foods?"

"Ē dear wife, perhaps our 'aumākua are testing us to see if we'll strictly follow their kapu. If you break the godly kapu of our ancestors, you'll be punished, so suppress your cravings."

Hina followed her husband's advice and patiently suppressed her cravings. But soon, Hina began to crave yet another thing forbidden to women during ancient times: "Ē Leimakani, I'm really craving kūmū now – the craving is right here in my throat. I know the kūmū is a forbidden fish .(kapu i'a), so why do I crave it?"

Leimakani wanted to consult their makāula, or seer, about his wife's cravings. His wife agreed this was a good idea, so he took the proper, customary offerings and went to get the seer to observe his wife's condition. The seer knew the purpose of Leimakani's visit before Leimakani arrived, and told his visitor: "Ē Leimakani, before you came, your 'aumākua told me about how they were deceiving your wife, Hina. The cravings are not Hina's, but her unborn child's. You two will have a male child who will engage in contests of wit against dangerous supernatural beings (kupua). Great will be his work in outwitting these kupua, the deceivers of the land and sea. The ancestral gods are testing you two now to see if you will observe their kapu; you and your wife must be firm in observing these kapu. Then you'll be blessed with a son, and he will punish those who bring misfortune on you. Return

home and consider these things I've told you, but don't say a word to your wife about your misfortune, or you'll harm the fruit in her belly."

The seer then dismissed Leimakani. When his wife questioned him, Leimakani told her the good news that she was pregnant with a son. She was overjoyed, for now they would have a child to care for them in their old age. After a few months, Leimakani saw Hina was indeed pregnant, and he was happy. Here was the child they had longed for, but thought they were too old to have.

Leimakani knew his child would carry out the great works the seer had predicted because signs appeared in the sky when Hina was about to give birth, and a wild storm overwhelmed the land and sea. The sea raged, and rain drenched the land, flooding the streams and washing debris down from the uplands. Huge waves crashed against the shore. The kama'āina of Kohala had never known such a great storm. Because this storm marked the birth of his child, Leimakani called him "Punia," which means "the overwhelming of the land and sea."

The new-born child was as strong as a six-month old baby and had the face of a young man. He was brought up as a favorite. The parents carefully nurtured the life of their precious first-born favorite. When Punia was three years old, he followed his father whenever his father worked in the vegetable garden or went to dive for lobster at his lua ula (lobster cave) in the sea near shore. Father and son became constant and loving companions, and a strong, intimate bond grew between them.

Always at his father's side, Punia learned to farm like his father. Leimakani said to Hina: "Ē dear Hina, see how diligent our child is. He's not like the other children who think only of playing. I know our child will be able to support us; the gods of our ancestors love us, so they have blessed us with such a good child, a hard-working boy who loves his parents. If there should come a time when I have to go ahead of you into the dark world of Kāne, I won't worry about you two because I know our son will be able to take care of both of you."

Leimakani's words made his wife happy; neither of them dwelled much upon the possibility of Leimakani's actually dying before his wife; Leimakani had forgotten the seer's prediction of misfortune.

Leimakani's lobster cave was his and his wife's ipu kai.[2] Before Leimakani went to get lobster, he would tell his wife to light a fire since he would not be gone long and always returned with the best lobster. When he and his wife lived alone, he dove for just two lobsters, but now that Punia was growing up and Leimakani saw how much the boy was eating, Leimakani brought back three. Leimakani's house always had

food, and his wife never went hungry. He never neglected his farming and never laid about the house counting the rafters (ʻaho); the sweet potato leaves in his garden were always deep green. The father was accustomed to work and would not have allowed his son to become lazy, but since his son liked to work, all Leimakani had to do was guide his son along. The parents spoke proudly of their son's capabilities.

When Punia reached his seventh birthday, he was ready to go diving for lobster, so one day Leimakani took him to the lobster cave, and the boy got a lobster easily; however, Leimakani would not let his son dive alone.

When Punia reached his tenth birthday, he was very muscular from work, with the strength of an eighteen year old. In fact, none of the 18-year-old boys in the neighborhood could beat him at anything. Leimakani began to teach his son to hurl a spear, box, race, and fight with a stick since Leimakani was an expert in these body-building activities. Because of his extraordinary strength, Punia would hurt the other children and even their parents when he fought with them, so some of the parents turned against Leimakani and his family, and Leimakani had to go and find out the cause of this unhappiness.

Around this time, a shark-chief (manō aliʻi) named Kaiʻaleʻale ("tumultuous sea") came into the sea of Kohala; he commanded ten loyal sharks. These man-eaters had been driven away from other parts of the ocean by good sharks.[3]

When Kaiʻaleʻale and his soldiers came to the sea of Kohala, they began to kill and eat swimmers and divers. Leimakani hadn't heard about Kaiʻaleʻale's destructive activities. One day after he finished working in his sweet potato patch, he went to the headland to dive for lobster with his son. When they reached their favorite lobster cave, Leimakani told his son to wait on shore while he dove alone; the boy insisted on diving, too, but Leimakani refused to let him.

Kaiʻaleʻale overheard the conversation between the father and son, and was very disappointed that the boy would not dive because he wanted two bodies rather than just one as a meal for himself and his followers.[4] He waited in ambush on one side of Leimakani's lobster cave.

Leimakani dove to the lobster cave and got three lobsters. As he was returning to the surface, Kaiʻaleʻale surprised him, and Leimakani was torn apart by the jaws of that malevolent shark. Then the other sharks devoured every part of him except the head. Kaiʻaleʻale grabbed

the head firmly in his jaws and, surfacing, raised it above the water so Punia could see it.[5] The sea was red with Leimakani's blood. When Punia saw Kaiʻaleʻale mockingly raising his father's head above the sea surface, he wept and pounded his chest, overcome by unbearable hurt and grief. Tears of love for his father ran down his young cheeks, and in a voice choking with tears, he vowed: "Kaiʻaleʻale, I'll avenge this desecration of my father. You'll see what the son of Leimakani and Hina can do!"

Wailing and pounding his chest in grief, Punia left the coast. As he neared home, where Hina was beating kapa (tree-bark cloth), she heard his sorrowful crying and knew immediately her husband had met with misfortune. As her son approached, she asked fearfully: "Where is your father? Why are you crying, my dear son?"

"Ē my dear mother, we won't see him again because he's dead; his head was desecrated by the malevolent shark Kaiʻaleʻale, and his body was torn apart and eaten by Kaiʻaleʻale's warriors."

When Hina heard the horrible news, she wept bitterly, pounding her chest in grief and recalling the love she and her husband shared. Hina wanted to join her husband by going down to the headland and jumping into the sea to die in Kaiʻaleʻale's jaws; but she knew she had to care for her son, so she repressed her suicidal impulse.

Punia and Hina mourned for the passing of Leimakani. Punia comforted his mother. He secretly swore he would never forget the way Kaiʻaleʻale had desecrated the head of his father; the time would come when he would take revenge on that manō aliʻi and his followers. The days went by with Punia farming his father's garden. Hina told him never to go again to dive at his father's lobster cave, and Punia at first obeyed his mother, so as not to cause her more grief while she was mourning.

When the long days of mourning for Leimakani had ended, however, Punia wanted to get seafood (iʻa) to go with their vegetable food (ʻai). He went to his mother and told her of his desire. She strongly objected: "Ē my son, if you go and look for seafood for us and run into trouble like your father, what good is that to me? Who will take care of me after you're gone? We get enough food from the land. What's wrong with eating turnip leaves (lau ananū) and cooked sweet potato leaves (lau palula) from our garden? When the grasshoppers come during a time of famine, you and I will be partners in getting food from the land. Don't leave me, my son – you're my only support."

Punia felt sorry for his mother and decided not to persist in asking to go fishing. But a few days later he had a strong craving for seafood again, so he asked his mother for permission to go to the headland to fish from shore, promising her he wouldn't dive for lobster. At first, his mother tried to tell him no, but finally gave in and agreed to let him go pole fishing.[6] Punia went and brought home some fish for them to eat along with their cooked sweet potato (pa‘i ‘uwala).

After some days had passed, Punia said to his mother: "Ē Hina, dear mother, we've eaten the fish I caught, and now my mouth waters for more. I love my father's favorite seafood, so please let me go diving for lobster. Perhaps the shark Kai‘ale‘ale is no longer lurking at the lobster cave. I'll look before I dive. If I see Kai‘ale‘ale near the cave, I won't dive."

Again Hina refused her son's request, but the boy was so persistent, she finally said yes; still, she was filled with doubt and told him: "Be very careful and don't be foolish and dive without first knowing what's down there."

Punia agreed and quickly prepared to go diving. Then he kissed his mother and left, telling her not to worry about him, but to concentrate on her work and before she knew it, he would return. After he left, Hina prayed to the ‘aumākua of her family to protect him.

When Punia arrived at his father's lobster cave, love for his father welled up in him. He looked down at the cave and saw the row of sharks lying there, with Kai‘ale‘ale at one end. He said loudly: "There's Kai‘ale‘ale lying down, fast asleep with his band of sharks. While he lies there stuffed with food and contented, I'll dive down for two lobsters for my mother and me. I'll dive there at the headland. With two lobsters to go with the sweet potatoes from my father's garden, my mother and I will eat well."

Kai‘ale‘ale heard him and told his band of sharks: "Get up, get ready, let's all be alert – here comes our morsel for the day; he craves lobster from his father's cave. He thinks Kai‘ale‘ale is asleep, but I'm really lying in wait for the soft flesh of Leimakani's son. Be alert and watch where he dives – that's the best time to bite him since the sea will blind him when he enters the water. Be alert, my friends – this tidbit will dive right in front of us."

As Kai‘ale‘ale was alerting his band of sharks, Punia was poised above with a rock in his hand. He called to the sharks: "I'm going to dive to our cave from that rocky headland over there, on that side – I'm diving, I'm diving."

Then he hurled the rock he was holding to where he said he would dive and when the rock splashed into the sea, the band of sharks raced after it. Punia then dove into his father's cave from the other side and got two lobsters; he surfaced quickly and was back on dry land before the sharks came racing back. Punia mocked them: "A-hā-hā, Kaiʻaleʻale! Punia dove down and got two lobsters, and my mother and I will eat and enjoy them. It was the first, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth – it was the eleventh shark who told me how to escape your bite. He's the one with the skinny tail."

Kaiʻaleʻale immediately ordered his pack of sharks to prostrate themselves in a row. He looked at their tails and found the one with the skinny tail. Kaiʻaleʻale killed him and the rest of the sharks devoured the corpse.

Punia said to himself, "A-hā-hā! I've got a moepuʻu (sacrificial companion in death) for my father." Then he returned home with his two lobsters and when his mother saw him with his catch, she was overjoyed and quickly started a fire to roast the lobsters. When the lobsters were cooked, Hina and Punia ate separately, since men and women were forbidden to eat together in those days.

After a few days, Punia spoke to his mother again about going diving for lobster, and again she told him not to go: "You were lucky to escape last time. This time you might be killed by Kaiʻaleʻale and his followers. Stay with me, my son; we'll look after each other. We'll find food for each other, and when I die, you'll be the one to hide my bones."[7]

Punia replied: "Ē dear mother, don't hold me back. I've made up my mind to kill Kaiʻaleʻale and his friends. I can't carry out my plan if I just stay here in the uplands and live like a woman. Let me go so I can avenge my father's death."

Hina finally agreed to let him go with her blessing, but told him to be very careful and to think always of his mother. Punia went down to the headland again and stood above his father's lobster cave. He saw Kaiʻaleʻale lying down there with his followers. He called out so the man-eaters could hear: "Kaiʻaleʻale sleeps! Here's Punia, Hina's lobster-diving son. I'm going to dive for lobsters to go along with my father's delicious sweet potatoes. This time, I'm not going to dive into my father's cave; I'm going to dive into the cave my mother told me about, the one on the other side of the headland. I'll dive there quickly, before Kaiʻaleʻale can catch me."

Then Punia hurled a rock with all his might to the other side of the rocky point, and the sharks, led by Kaiʻaleʻale, swam quickly to the spot where the rock splashed into the water. As soon as the sharks left the area, Punia dove down, got two lobsters, surfaced, and climbed back safely onto land. As the sharks looked around for Punia at the spot where the rock had sunk to the bottom, Punia mocked them from shore: "Ē Kaiʻaleʻale, I dove down and got two lobsters from my father's cave, and surfaced before you could catch me. This time it was the big-bellied shark who told me what to do."

Kaiʻaleʻale again ordered all his sharks to prostrate themselves, so he could look them over; when he found the big-bellied shark, he said angrily: "So it was you who plotted with Punia against me. You must die!" Kaiʻaleʻale killed him. Then Punia mocked Kaiʻaleʻale again: "A-hā-hā! I've got another moepuʻu for my father. Here I am, Kaiʻaleʻale, going home with lobsters to go with the sweet potatoes from my father's garden; my mother and I will eat well." Punia returned to the uplands, and when his mother saw her son, she was happy and quickly built a fire and roasted their lobsters. Punia and his mother then ate separately, as before.

Punia remained in the uplands until he began to crave lobster from his father's cave again; so again he begged his mother for permission to go diving. This time his mother didn't oppose him, but told him again to be very careful. When Punia got to the headland, he saw Kaiʻaleʻale and his band lying together below. He repeated his trick, getting two lobsters and this time pointing to the fat-tailed shark as the one who told him what to do. Thus did Punia trick Kaiʻaleʻale again and again until Kaiʻaleʻale killed all his followers. Then Punia devised a plan to kill the chief shark.

One day Punia told his mother: "Make me a mat of very fine weave, and double its mesh." When the mat was finished, Punia cut two sticks, each a yard long, and got two rubbing sticks for making fire. He also gathered charcoal, kindling, and salt, and put these supplies in a small container; then he got an ʻopihi shell scraper and a short stone knife. He stuffed all these supplies into a lau hala bag, then went to speak to his mother.

"Ē dear mother, I'm going on a long trip, maybe for two anahulu (twenty days in all), so don't worry if I'm not back for a while; stay here and hope for the best. After two anahulu, I should return to you in good health. Don't ask me where I'm going on this long trip – but pray

for me to our ancestral gods."

Then Punia got up and kissed his mother, turned and picked up his lau hala bag and the two sticks he had so carefully cut, and went down to the cliffs overlooking the sea above his father's lobster cave. When he got there, he looked down and saw Kaiʻaleʻale lying there alone. He called out loudly so Kaiʻaleʻale could hear: "There's the big shark Kaiʻaleʻale, perhaps asleep – if I were to dive down and he swallowed me whole into his belly, he could kill me; but if he tore me apart, my blood would float up to the surface and my mother would see it and use the mana (divine power) of my blood with her powerful medicine to bring me back to life. Only if Kaiʻaleʻale swallows me whole will he be able to kill me." Kaiʻaleʻale heard this and decided to swallow Punia whole.

As Punia prepared to dive, he called out loudly: "I'm diving, I'm diving there. If Kaiʻaleʻale swallows me whole, I'll die and no one can save me; but if he bites me, Hina, my mother, will use my flowing blood to bring me back to life."

Holding the lau hala bag, the mat, and the two sticks, Punia leaped into the sea – into the wide open mouth of Kaiʻaleʻale, who swallowed him whole. Punia slipped easily through the jaws of the shark and into the belly, and as the shark's jaws were about to close, Punia propped them open with the two sticks he had cut, stuffed the mat into the opening to keep the seawater out, and arranged his things for a stay inside the belly. He started a fire in the belly and when the fire was blazing, he scraped the shark's flesh with his ʻopihi shell and sliced its flesh with his knife, then roasted the meat over the fire and ate.

Kaiʻaleʻale was in agonizing pain and swam like a madman (pupule) through the ocean, and when he came across other sharks, they asked him, "Kaiʻaleʻale, why are you swimming about so crazily? Are you being chased by some enemies?"

"Au-wē! I'm in terrible pain – my belly is burning up! I mocked the mischievous child of Hina and Leimakani, so now he's cooking my flesh inside my belly, and the heat and pain are unbearable! I'm trying to escape my pain – but where can I go?"

Kaiʻaleʻale swam around crazily to a great many places, and it was said he even reached the boundaries of Kahiki [Tahiti, or any foreign country]; but he couldn't escape his pain, so he finally headed back to the sea of Kohala.

Punia remained in Kaiʻaleʻale's belly for two anahulu; his only trouble during this time was his hair fell out; it is said that he was the

first bald person in Hawai‘i. It is also said Punia was the Hawaiian Jonah, but he wasn’t like Jonah at all. Punia stayed twenty days inside the belly of a shark, while Jonah of the Bible stayed only three days and nights inside the belly of some big fish.[8]

At last Kai‘ale‘ale returned to the shores of Hawai‘i, and Punia heard the roar of waves breaking on shore, so he knew land was near. Punia spoke loudly so Kai‘ale‘ale could hear: “If Kai‘ale‘ale leaves me where the surf breaks, I’ll live, but if he takes me to shore, onto the beach, I’ll be killed by the people on shore, and his torture will end.” When Kai‘ale‘ale heard this, he decided to take Punia ashore.

Kai‘ale‘ale put Punia ashore in Kona, near a place the kama‘āina of Kona call Hi‘iaka-noho-lae.[9] Kai‘ale‘ale was in great pain and very weak, but he was determined to bring Punia ashore to be killed. Punia knew they were close to shore by the sound of Kai‘ale‘ale’s belly striking the rocks in shallow. When Punia was certain the shark was stranded in shallow water, he began to think about how to get out of Kai‘ale‘ale’s belly. Then he heard the chatter of people: “Au-wē! A shark has washed ashore! Au-wē! A shark has washed ashore! Let’s kill it and cut it up with stone knives!”

When Punia heard the chattering voices, he decided to remain quietly in Kai‘ale‘ale’s belly and wait until the people attacked and killed the big shark. He didn’t have to wait long before he heard loud voices close by the body of the beached shark and the thudding of sticks hitting the shark’s body. Then Punia spoke to Kai‘ale‘ale before the shark died: “Ē Kai‘ale‘ale, my plan to get even with you and your followers has been carried out; the vengeance of the child of Leimakani and Hina is complete. Just as you ate the body of my father, so also will your body be eaten by the people of this place. I’ll be leaving you soon to join my beloved mother again.”

When Kai‘ale‘ale heard this, he began thrashing about, hoping to injure Punia inside his belly, but the people began beating the big shark even more fiercely because they thought he was thrashing about to get back into deep water and escape. In a short while, Kai‘ale‘ale was beaten to death; the killer of the beloved father of Punia was dead.

After Kai‘ale‘ale stopped moving; the people began to cut the shark up with stone knives and adzes. As the men and women chattered gleefully about how lucky they were to find this beached shark and how they had gotten him without much effort, Punia called out from inside the shark: “Hey, be careful, or you’ll cut up the man inside.”

Most of the people didn’t hear him because of the loud talking,

but one man who was particularly close to the belly heard this voice coming from inside and said, "Listen, all of you, I hear a man's voice coming from inside the belly of the shark."

Everyone began laughing and poking fun at this man, and someone said, "Listen, maybe you're still drunk on last night's cup of ʻawa. Go home already; we'll finish cutting up the shark for all of us, while you go back and chew ʻawa, so when we get back with the pieces of shark, we can cook them in ti leaves and eat the delicious pūpū with our cups of ʻawa."

While these people were laughing and making fun of their friend, they heard a man's voice coming from inside the shark: "Hey, be careful, or you'll cut up the man inside."

The merry-makers were suddenly terrified; one man shouted: "Au-wē! The shark's body is possessed!" Then he threw down his cutting tool and ran away quickly, shouting, "The shark's body is possessed!"

The others ran away shouting the same thing, while a new group of people just coming to join in the cutting stood by with their mouths open, wondering why the crowd was fleeing from the beached shark. Just as Punia was about to remove the mat stuffed into Kaiʻaleʻale's mouth and crawl out, he heard the sound of voices again, so he decided to wait. A new group of people arrived and began cutting up the shark. Punia knew that if he spoke up again, these people would run away like the first group, so he call out mischievously: "Hey, watch out for the man inside the shark – and don't cut roughly and break your cutting tools."

The men heard the voice from inside the shark and stopped cutting, wondering what was happening. They were frightened – and who wouldn't be if the shark he were cutting up began talking? The men ran off in terror and reassembled at a headland to observe the shark from a distance. Their desire to eat the shark had left them.

Meanwhile the first group had gone ahead to spread the news about the talking shark, and they returned with a crowd of people to view it.

Punia was thinking about how to get out: if he came out now, the people would realize he was a human being, not a spirit, and they would be angry at him for scaring them off; they might turn on him and injure or even kill him before he could see his dear mother again. While he thought over his situation, he happened to rub his head and remembered his baldness, something never before seen here in Hawaiʻi; he decided if he emerged looking very fearful, he could scare all the people away and then run off and hide from them. He quietly made an opening in

the mat stuffed in Kaiʻaleʻale's mouth and saw the beach was crowded with people; he also saw the sun was about to set and thought twilight would be a good time to emerge from the shark's belly. He pulled the mat inside the belly and cut a hole in the center, then put the mat on like a cape, with only his head sticking out.

At twilight, he began to crawl out, shouting loudly, as if he were a multitude of people inside the shark's belly. The crowd was startled by this shouting voice, and the men said: "Say, this shark is really possessed! I hear forty thousand, four hundred thousand akua (spirits). The shark must be a kupua (a supernatural being) – let's go before we're killed by its many forms."

As these people were talking excitedly among themselves, they were startled by a strange-looking thing coming out of the shark; it had a shiny head and an ash-colored face, and wore a disorderly cape. The people were terrified, and when the mischievous son of Leimakani and Hina walked straight toward them, they fled shouting: "Au-wē! The shark is possessed! The shark is possessed!" Punia ran after them to terrify them even more. They ran back to their homes and hid without turning around to look at what was behind them.

Punia loitered at the beach for a while; it was a very dark night, so no one saw him. He changed his mind about returning immediately to Kohala to see his mother. To get home to Kohala, he would have to go through Kona, where it was rumored that at the places without freshwater (Kaha-wai-ʻole), there were akua (harmful spirits) who fished with nets.[10] He knew if he ventured into these places, the akua would try to kill him, so he decided to stop and play tricks on them.

When he arrived in the middle of the places without freshwater, he heard the chatter of a crowd of akua as they were tying stone sinkers to the lower edge of their net.[11] They were talking loudly, saying they didn't know any of the places to set fishing nets (kuʻuna-iʻa) in the area.

While Punia was thinking about how to trick these akua, he heard one akua appoint another to be in charge of setting their net in the right place. Punia quickly devised a plan to become their head fisherman.

He stood up, crossed his hands behind his back like someone mourning a loved one, and cried out in grief while beating his chest; then the mischievous son of Hina and Leimakani began to lament loudly:

Auwē, my father of this place!

We were the only two fishermen (lawai‘a) here,
My father and I.
Auwē, my father!
We fished here,
Twisting up the edge of the net,
Snaring the kala, the uhu, the palani, the ananue,
The fish of this place-…
Auwē, my father!
Just we two came here,
To all the places to set nets (ku‘una), the fish holes (lua),
The fish runs (puka i‘a) …
We were the only fishing experts .(lehia) of these places!
Auwē, my father!
You went on the path of no return,
You fled from our intimate closeness,
I alone remain,
A kama‘āina of this place,
Beloved places of ours, my dear companion,
Beloved beaches of ours, doubly loved,
Auwē, my father![12]

When the crowd of akua heard this sad cry of grief coming from the darkness, they left their fish-net and ran toward the cry. They found this bald, hairless man wearing a mat, his hands crossed behind his back; since he was crying for his beloved father, everyone felt compassion for him, except for one akua ‘ōhule (bald-headed akua). This bald akua told the group they should kill this bald, weeping human. Punia heard the threatening words of this akua, but ignored them and continued his sad, wailing chant about his father and himself.

Among the crowd of akua, there had always been disagreement between the bald-headed akua and a red-eyed akua (akua mākole), so when the red-eyed akua heard the words of the bald akua, he took the opposite side and defended Punia: “Listen, my fellow akua, it isn’t right for us to listen to our hairless friend and put to death this grieving man. We can understand the envy of our friend, because we’ve switched our attention from him to this bald fellow; but our bald one is foolishly urging us to kill a kama‘āina who knows where we should set our net. I believe we must spare the kama‘āina and ask him to fish with us here.”

When the other akua agreed with the red-eyed one, the bald akua burned with anger and argued back: “I’m right! You’re just our salt-

maker; you're our leader when we go to the sea of Pīheka ["Inflamed-eyes"] to make salt. The hula-dancing akua dance to your name":

> Red-eyed, red-eyed, the only one,
> Goes to the sea of Pīheka,
> What do you eat?
> Bits left by the akua,
> The akua, the akua,
> The akua are the chiefs of Kona.

This taunting chant of the bald akua made the rest of the akua dance. This hula song was not composed by a man but by the pig demi-god Kamapua'a to insult Pele, the red-eyed volcano goddess, after she give him a tongue-lashing about his being a pig.[13]

These taunts of the bald akua made the red-eyed akua seethe with anger, and he argued back sharply that they should enlist Punia's help with the fishing. As the akua were arguing among themselves whether they should kill or save Punia, Punia continued his deceiving cry of lamentation for his dead father; he was overcome with tears while beating his chest and weeping loudly. The red-eyed akua tried to comfort him while persuading the crowd of akua to save Punia and make him their head fisherman (lawai'a nui). When they agreed again, the bald, hairless akua told them: "Listen, all of you, if you follow our salt-making akua, you'll get entangled in that bald man's net; only I'll escape the net of the deceiver." The other akua didn't pay any attention to his words since they had made up their minds to let Punia be their leader in setting the net. When Punia realized he was safe, he stopped his chest-beating and cries of grief and began to converse with the akua.

The red-eyed akua asked him, "Do you really know where to lay net around here?"

"Yes, I know the ku'una-i'a around here – I used to live here with my father."

"What kinds of fish did you two catch in these ku'una?"

"The fish of these ku'una are the palani, ananue, uhu, kala, uouoa, and weke'ula; but these ku'una-i'a have fishing kapu that we must follow."

"What are the kapu regarding these ku'una?"

"You must be very quiet and careful when setting the net and diving for the fish. You must not shout or go back to shore until we bring in the net. One ku'una joins another; the fisherman works quietly in one

ku‘una, so the fish in another ku‘una won’t be frightened off. Another thing – once we begin to catch the fish in these ku‘una, the amount of fish and the work of twisting the fish into the net will be great. When we go to twist up the fish in the net, you must be alert, or the fish will get loose from the net and go free. Once, when my father and I set our net here, we were very fortunate and caught so many fish, the pigs ate, the people ate, and the akua ate.”

While Punia was boasting, all of the akua were in awe of him, except for the bald-headed akua. The bald one tried again to turn his friends against Punia, but the rest of the akua ignored the bald one. They showed Punia their fish-net with stone sinkers tied to the lower cord. Punia told them: “These stone aren’t the right kind. The fish won’t be held securely in the net – a few might be caught, but most will easily get loose.” He ordered the akua to go and search for new stone sinkers for the lower cord, telling them what kind of stones to get. In a short time, the akua had a pile of the right kind of stones. When the bald-headed akua saw the pile of stones, he spoke again: “Listen, my fellow akua, the number of you so easily deceived by this bald-headed liar is as great as the number of stones in this pile.”

Punia saw the bald akua was trying to thwart his plan by turning the others against him, so he thought for a moment about what he could do to maintain their confidence. He told them: “Listen, you akua, when my father and I went fishing here, he taught me the proper rules (loina kūpono) of fishing. We must follow these good rules.”

“What are these rules, head fisherman? If these rules are proper for our fishing profession and will help us catch fish, we’ll follow them.” It is said Punia made up these rules (which you readers will recognize) to deceive the akua. However, these rules came to be observed by the fishermen of this land, from ancient times to now.

“Here are the rules: when our net is being made, don’t shout out, stand up to get anything, cross your hands behind your back,[14] make a vulgar gesture with your fingers, wrap your arms tightly across your chest, or speak badly of the work of the people who are preparing the net – and when the net is lowered into the sea, you must obey the orders of the head fisherman. You must be gentle and quiet in doing all these things, but the main thing to remember is to obey the orders of the head fisherman. These are the things my father told me. If you follow these rules of fishing, you’ll never come back empty handed or be unlucky in fishing.”[15]

The crowd of akua was grateful for Punia’s help and willing to obey

the rules their head fisherman; the bald-headed akua complained that Punia's rules of fishing were made to deceive them, but no one listened to him. Punia soon ordered the crowd of akua to tie the sinker stones to the lower cord of the net, and they did so. The hero Kaululāʻau destroyed or subjugated all the akua of Lānaʻi with tricks different from the ones Punia used against the akua of the two Konas [i.e., north and south Kona]; and unlike Kaululāʻau, Punia was unable to triumph over all the akua and make Kona a place safe for human fishermen.[16]

When Punia saw the stone sinkers were securely tied to the fishing net, he ordered some akua to one side of the net and advised the rest of them to obey very carefully his instructions; they understood their new duties; they were not to talk loudly, and they had to remember the locations of the kuʻuna.

Punia and two akua swam out with the net, and when Punia found the best place to set it, he called out softly to his fishing companions to lower it. Punia set the length of the net parallel to the shore, then went around to the outside of the net to where his fishing companions were holding onto the outside corners. When he got there, he said to the pair: "Listen you two. This is our kuʻuna; here the fish will crowd into the net; now let's dive down and twist the fish into the net, or they'll swim out and, wary from having touched the net, they'll go back toward land. By the movement of the net, I'll know whether it's a palani or kala caught in our net. If you follow my orders, the first kuʻuna will provide enough ʻono fish for us and we won't have to go fishing at another kuʻuna and get cold again. Now dive with me to twist the fish into the net before they get out and go back toward land."

With these words, the three dove together, the two akua on the outside of the net, and Punia on the inside. Punia showed them the fish in the net and as these two akua were twisting the kala into the net, Punia twisted the akua into the net; thus, the two akua were caught in the net of kalawakua[17]; then he surfaced and called to the akua standing together in darkness on shore: "Listen, all of you – we've got kala and palani in the net, so one by one, swim out and help us twist them into the net, but be careful and don't talk loudly, or you'll disrupt our fishing."

The akua on land heard Punia's call and one swam out; when this akua got to where Punia was floating, Punia ordered him to dive to twist the fish into the net, and when the akua dove into the net, Punia dove after him and twisted him into it. The first two akua Punia had twisted up with the fish were already dead, extinguished like fire, and

he counted the two as part of his catch. Punia surfaced and boasted again about all the fish in the net. "Listen, countless numbers of fish have settled calmly in the net, so don't frightened them off; swim out quietly, one at a time. When you dive and twist a fish into the net, you must secure it there, then surface quietly and guard the place where your fish is caught; when the net is full we'll bring it back to shore and have enough fish to feed us for a long time."

Another akua swam out at Punia's request and when he got to where Punia was floating, Punia said: "Dive with me to twist the fish into the net; hold your breathe as long as possible underwater, and when you can no longer hold on, surface for air. Your friends are on the other side of the net holding onto the kuku (sticks used to keep nets upright)."

Punia dove down after each akua and twisted him into the net. As each akua was ensnared in the net, the mischievous child of Hina surfaced and signaled for another akua to swim out, and that is how Punia netted all the akua except for the bald akua, who remained on shore. Punia called the bald akua to swim out, but the bald one was suspicious and called back to Punia: "Listen, O head fisherman, where are all my friend? I don't hear any of them talking."

"Here they are, twisting up all the fish, the palani and the kala; the net is so full of fish we'll have to struggle to bring to shore. Swim out and help us pull it in. But don't make noise, or else the fish in our ku'una will be frightened off."

"I won't swim out there; when you bring the net back to shore, I'll help you. Besides, my head fisherman, I'm afraid my bald head will get cold if I swim out."

Punia knew he couldn't trick the bald-headed akua into swimming out, so he was going to leave the net and swim to shore to kill him; but the bald one knew Punia would be returning to shore alone, and he ran away before Punia could catch him. This bald akua was the only one who escaped. The phosphorescent glow in the ocean at one time was from the rotting remains of the crowd of akua whom Punia had twisted into the net. It is also said the palani and the kala have such an unpleasant odor because they were twisted into the net with the dead akua.[18]

After his victory over the akua of the places without freshwater in Kona, Punia returned home to his dear mother, who was patiently awaiting his return. When they were reunited, Hina was overjoyed. Thereafter, Punia carried on his father's work, growing sweet potatoes in the uplands and getting lobsters from Leimakani's cave. Kai'ale'ale

no longer lurked there.

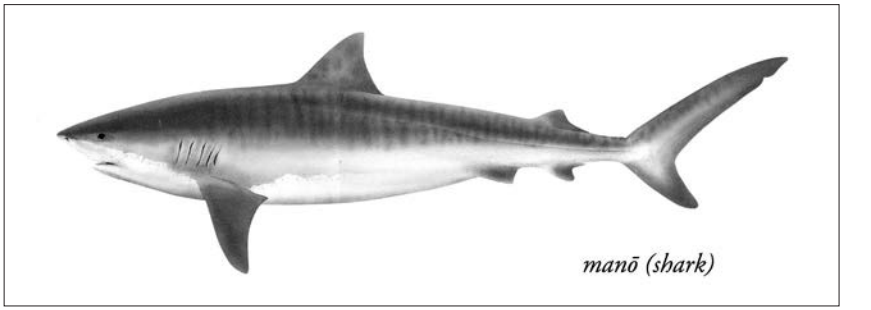
Notes

"Punia" ("He Moolelo Kaao No Punia") appeared in ten weekly chapters from December 12, 1912 to February 13, 1913, in the newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* (published weekly in Hilo, Hawai'i, from 1906-1948). The story has been translated by Esther T. Mookini. The author of the Hawaiian version is not identified, but it may have been composed by one of the early editors of the newspaper, the Rev. S.L. Desha or Solomon Anakalea. A short version of the Punia story, in Hawaiian with an English translation, was published in Fornander (Vol. 5, 294-301).

1. According to the Pukui-Elbert dictionary, the mai'a pōpō'ulu was not taboo to women; Kamakau explains this was because Wākea (a male ancestor) gave Papa (a female ancestor) permission to eat it (*Works* 38). Other types of bananas were taboo to women. Handy and Pukui say the banana was taboo to women "because the banana tree was a body of Kanaloa," and the coconut (niu) was taboo because "the coconut tree was a body of Kū." (Kanaloa and Kū were two male gods.) Kūmū, or red goatfish, which Hina craves next, was used as an offering in religious rituals and sacred to the male gods (177).

2. "Ipu kai" is "a dish for meat or any dish deep enough to hold gravy (kai)"; figuratively, a place where there was bountiful seafood. Each family had the right to gather, grow, and catch food from specific areas of the land and sea. When the two areas, called 'ili, were not connected ('ili lele, or "leaping 'ili."), "the one mauka [upland] was referred to as the ''umeke 'ai' [gourd of vegetable food]," and one makai [seaward] was the 'ipukai,' the 'meat bowl' where fish could be found" (Handy and Pukui 4).

3. Hawaiians distinguish between a benevolent shark, which protects and aids the family that worships it as an 'aumakua (ancestral god); and malevolent sharks, which injure, kill, or eat human beings. Benevolent and malevolent, of course, might be relative, since a shark might protect a family who worshiped it while injuring or killing someone with whom the family was at odds and against whom the family sought revenge. For stories of battles between benevolent and


manō (shark)

malevolent sharks, see *Nanaue the Shark Man and Other Hawaiian Shark Stories.*

4. Kaiʻaleʻale is a manō kupua, a supernatural shark which can take various forms, human or animal.

5. The great awe Hawaiians had for sharks can be felt in this vivid passage from Kamakau describing a shark attack: "The shark is a ravaging lion of the ocean whom none can tame. It is able to swallow a man down whole. If a man arouses its anger, it will show its rows of shining teeth with the sea washing between – nothing can equal the terror which seizes a man when a shark chops to pieces the ama [outrigger float] of his canoe and tosses him up and down in the sea. Holding the man securely between its upper and shorter lower jaw, it jerks him about on the surface of the sea" (*People* 73). Beckwith notes: "According to Mary Pukui, the saying is that when a shark acts in this way with its human victim [i.e. jerks the victim around at the surface of the sea], it is not a natural shark but has been sent by sorcery to get rid of a person. The person sometimes calls to shore and waves his fingers in farewell to his relatives as the shark holds him, first tossing him up in the air, then hiding him under water."

6. For descriptions of fishing with rod and line, see Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 97, and Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing," 110.

7. A person's bones had to be hidden so they would not be desecrated, for instance, by someone who might use them to make fishhooks. See the story of "Nā Iwi o Pae / The Bones of Pae."

8. Perhaps Punia's hairlessness is connected with the belief that

"fishhooks made from the bones of people without hair on their bodies, who were termed ʻolohe, were more attractive to fish than hooks from normal bones" (Te Rangi Hiroa 325).

After Christianity was introduced to the islands, Hawaiian scholars began to point out similarities between Hawaiian traditions and Biblical ones: Kuikuipahu (or Kukuipahu) of Hawaiʻi, for example, was said to be like Jonah. Kuikuipahu was surfing when he was swallowed by a shark. He lived in the shark's belly and landed at Hāna, Maui, near Kauiki Hill (Kamakau 76; Fornander 660). Kamakau writes of Kukuipahu, "His hair all fell out."

9. Hiʻiaka-noho-lae ("point where Hiʻiaka lives") is a rock beyond the seawall in Kailua, Kona, near Kona Inn.

10. Akua refers to a spiritual being, such as a god, a ghost, or a goblin; here, the word refers to harmful spirits which had to be destroyed before humans could safely live and fish in an area. Legends celebrate the destruction of the akua on various islands. In the story of Hanaaumoe, a Kauaʻi chief destroys all but one of the flattering akua of Oʻahu (Fornander, Vol. 4, 476-483). Rice tells a similar story of the destruction of the akua of Niʻihau (68). Various stories tell how Kaululāʻau, a trickster-hero like Punia, kills off or subjugates all the akua of Lānaʻi. (See note 16.)

11. The ʻupena hoʻolewalewa (hanging net) was a gill net with 2-2.5 inch mesh, with floaters made of hau (or sometimes kukui) wood attached to the upper edge and with stone sinkers attached to the bottom edge. The net was stretched across a kuʻuna, or sandy opening in the coral reef. One or two persons worked this net, passing backward and forward seaward of the net and taking out fish as fast as they are caught in the meshes. This way of fishing was practiced only at night. (See Appendix 1, "Hawaiian Fisheries," 100.)

12. Punia's wailing call to his father is an example of uwe helu ("recounting cry"), an expression of grief for a loved one who has passed away. A mourner wailing at an ahaʻaina makena, or death feast "recalls old associations, family connections, and anything else that comes to mind" (Handy and Pukui 154).

Pukui provides the following example of uwe helu: "Au-wē, my cousin, my companion of childhood days; companion with whom I

shared my troubles, companion who shared my woes. Ah – you have deserted me! Beloved are the fishing places to which we have gone; the sandy stretches where we sat. Ē Ka-wai-uhu ē, you shall never more see his face; Ē Paʻula ē, my companion has gone on the hidden pathway of Kāne."

13. This Red-eyed ("Makole") chant appears in the Kamapuaʻa legend; see Fornander (Vol. 5, 332-343) and *He Moolelo no Kamapuaa/ The Story of Kamapuaa* by G.W. Kahiolo, trans. by Mookini and Neizman (60-1). "Makole" (mākole: red-eyed) suggests "Maka-ole" (maka ʻole: "without eyes," i.e. "blind").

14. Crossing one's hands behind one's back could be a sign of grief, anger, or danger; or an insulting way of wishing bad luck.

15. See Appendix 2, "An Account of Fishing," 119, for a list of *don't*'s for those who fish.

16. Kaʻululāʻau, like Punia, was a trickster-hero of Hawaiian legend. Emory gives two versions of the Kaʻululāʻau legend (13-15). In the first version, after being banished to Lānaʻi for mischief, Kaʻululāʻau sleeps hidden in a cave while the man-eating akua, or goblins, of Lānaʻi hunt for him at places where he tells them he sleeps at night; the akua never find him, and most of them die during the search; one flees to Kahoʻolawe. In the other version, collected by Emerson from a local resident of Lānaʻi, Kaʻululāʻau kills off some akua by telling them he sleeps in the surf at night, thus getting them to swim out and drown; he then arranges a fishing expedition (like Punia), and drowns more akua as they swim out one by one; he burns all but two in a house; clubs one to death; and drowns the last one in a spring.

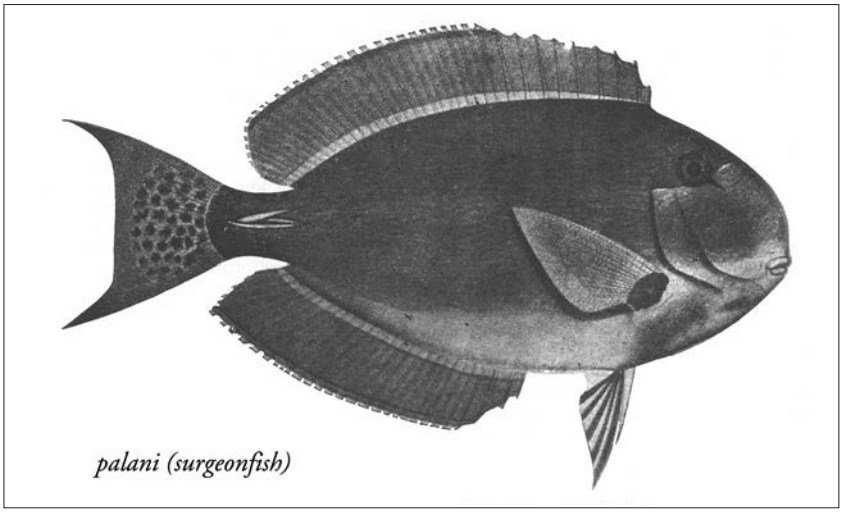
Emma Metcalf Nakuina, in "Kaululaau and Lanai" (*Hawaii: Its People, Their Legends* 55-58) writes: "The goblins [akua] having either disappeared or become subject to Kaululaau, fishermen from Maui, Molokai and Oahu, who frequented the famous fishing banks of Ka-pali-a-ka-holo to leeward of Lanai, came ashore, were made welcome by Kaululaau and given potatoes, taro, sugar cane, and bananas in return for such fish as he needed. The news of his success in subjecting the supernatural inhabitants of the heretofore dreaded island and of his generosity to fishermen quickly spread through the islands, and on invitation, many fishermen brought their families with

them and located permanently on Lāna‘i, swearing fealty to Kaululaau as their prince.”

A fourth version of the Ka‘ululā‘au story, in Hawaiian and English, can be found in Fornander (Vol. 4, 486-89).

17. Ka-lawakua means “strong-backed, muscular.” The word also suggests Ka-lawa-akua, “The akua catcher” (cf. lawa-i‘a, “fish catcher” or “fisherman”).

18. Palani and kala (surgeonfish) are noted for having a strong odor, taking on the smell of the kind of limu, or seaweed, they feed on. Both fish are commonly eaten; broiling diminishes their odor.



palani (surgeonfish)

Appendix 1.

Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing

with an account of

The Fishing Implements Used by The Natives of the Hawaiian Islands

Mrs. Emma Metcalf Beckley,
Curator of the Hawaiian National Museum

Published by Order of the Minster of Foreign Affairs

["Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing with an account of The Fishing Implements used by The Natives of the Hawaiian Islands" was published in 1883 by E.M. Beckley (Nakuina), who was Curator of the Hawaiian National Museum. It was written to accompany the collection of fish and fishing implements sent by the Hawaiian Government to the Great International Fisheries Exhibition of London.]

The Hawaiians have five methods of fishing: spearing, hand catching, using basket traps, fishing with hook and line, and using nets.

lʻa ʻŌ – Spear Fishing

lʻa ʻō is the spearing of fish either underwater or from above water. Underwater spearing is more important and is generally used to obtain different kinds of rock fish. The Hawaiian spear is a slender stick from 6-7 feet long made of very hard wood and sharply pointed at one end, but more tapered at the other. Spears now have smooth iron tips, without hook or barb. The diver descends to a well-known koʻa (fishing area) by a large coral rock or against the steep face of the reef and places himself in a half-crouching position on his left foot, with

his right foot free and extended behind and his left hand holding onto the rock to steady himself. He watches and waits for those fish passing before and parallel to him or those coming straight towards his face. He always aims a little in advance of the moving fish so that by the time the spear strikes, the fish will be hit in the gills or the middle of the body and thus be secured; if the spear were aimed at the body, the spear would be apt to hit the tail, or pass behind. When the fish is hit, it is carried right up to the hand by the force of the blow, and the fish remains on the handle of the spear while the fisherman strikes rapidly at other fish in succession should they come in a huakai (train), as they usually do.

Fish are rarely speared from above water except in connection with deep-sea line and hook fishing. One exception is the ʻoʻopuhue, the delicious, but poisonous puffer fish of the Pacific, which is speared in enclosed salt-water ponds from the stone embankments. The poison of this fish is in three little sacs which must be extracted whole and uninjured before the fish is eaten. The rough skin is also slightly poisonous and must be removed. If the teeth of the fish is yellow, the fish is so poisonous that no part of its flesh is safe to eat, even with the most careful preparation. ʻOʻopuhue caught in the open sea are always more poisonous than those from fish ponds.

Hand-Catching

Some fishermen dive to well-known habitats of certain fish and lobsters and, thrusting their arms up to their armpits under rocks or into holes, bring out the fish one by one and put them into a bag attached to the malo, or loin cloth. Women frequently do the same in shallow waters and catch fish by hand from under coral projections. Women also favor this method for catching the larger varieties of ʻōpae and ʻoʻopu in freshwater streams and kalo ponds. Gold fish are also caught by hand and presently form a considerable portion of the daily food of the poorer classes living near kalo patches or fresh water ponds. The gold fish's power of reproduction is very great. The different kinds of edible sea slugs are also caught by hand, although the larger kinds are sometimes dived for and speared underwater.

[Note: Kamakau, in *Works of the People of Old*, describes an interesting method of catching eels by hand:

> The eel fisherman looked for a jumbled mass of rocks with

pebbles among them and arranged a place for himself near a large rock with many pebbles. He chewed the back of an ʻaʻama crab and spewed it out. The smell attracted the eels. The sea dashed over the fisherman as he lay face down close to a crevice in the rock that stretched below in the foam. If he could use both hands equally well, he could fill two bags and the water gourd with eels.

In snaring eels the fingers were stretched wide apart while the thumb was pressed down, holding crabmeat in the palm of the hand. The back of the hand rested on pebbles, with the fingertips up against the face of the rock or of the crevice. The head of an eel would appear between the fingers as it came out to eat from the palm of his hand. The fisherman would clamp his fingers together, and the head of the eel would be caught fast. If all the spaces between the fingers were filled, then six eels might be caught at one time. As their tails thrashed about, the fisherman would bite the eels in the middle of the back, and their wide open mouths would bit him on the cheek, on the neck, or on the ear lobes. The eel snarer went on with this odd way of fishing until his bag was full (86-7).]

Fishing for He'e, or Octopus

There are two ways of he'e, or octopus, fishing: one for shallow water and one for deep water. In shallow water the spear is used. Women generally attend to this. Their practised eyes can tell if a he'e is in a hole whose entrance is no larger than a silver dollar, and plunging their spears in, they invariably draw one out. These mollusks have the peculiar property of drawing themselves out and compressing their bodies so as to pass through very narrow apertures many times smaller than the natural size or thickness of their bodies. Those caught in shallow waters vary from one to four feet in length, but the larger kinds of heʻe live in deep water and are known as heʻe-o-kaiuli (blue-water heʻe). They are caught using lures of cowry shell of the Mauritiana and sometimes of the Tiger species. One or more of these shells is attached to a string with an oblong pebble on the face of the shell; a hole is pierced in one end of the back of one of the shells through which the line is passed; then the line is fastened to the shell, with the end of the line projecting a few inches downward; finally a hook whose point stands almost perpendicular to the shaft or shank

is fastened to the end of the line. Only certain kinds of Mauritiana or Tiger cowries are used as lures, as the heʻe will not rise to a large-spotted or ugly one. The spots on the back of the cowry shell must be very small and red, breaking through a reddish brown ground; such a shell would have the strongest attraction for a heʻe and is called the ipo (lover). Cowries with suitable spots, but objectionable otherwise, are slightly steamed over a fire of sugar cane husks to give them the desired hue.

After his canoe arrives at the koʻa, the fisherman chews and spits on the water a mouthful of kukui meat (from the oily nut of the candlenut tree), which renders the water glassy and clear; he then drops the cowry shell with hook and line into the water and swings it over a place likely to be inhabited by a heʻe. A voracious animal, according to Hawaiian fishermen, the heʻe is always looking out from its hole for anything edible to come within reach of its eight arms. The moment it sees a cowry, it shoots out an arm and clasps the shell; if the shell is attractive, one arm after the other comes out, and finally the whole body is drawn from the hole and attaches itself to the cowry, or cowries, which it hugs closely, curling itself all around it and seemingly oblivious to anything but the pleasure of hugging its lover. The heʻe remains very quiet while being rapidly drawn up through the water till, just as its head is exposed above water, the heʻe raises it; the fisherman then pulls the line to bring the head against the edge of the canoe, where the heʻe is killed by being struck between the eyes with a club. This must be done rapidly before the animal becomes alarmed and lets go of the cowry, because a heʻe with arms a fathom in length is a dangerous antagonist, capable of squeezing a person to death. Having eight arms, such a heʻe could very easily manage two or three persons, since cutting off one or more of its arms does not affect the others in the least.

Torch Light Fishing

Torch light fishing is practiced on calm dark nights in shallow water where one can wade. The fish are either caught with small scoop nets or speared. The fisherman must be spry and light of step, passing through the water without a splash to disturb the fish, which remain quiet, as if dazzled by the light, unless alarmed by splashing or concussions in the water. The torches are made of split bamboos secured at regular intervals with kī leaves (Dracona terminalis) or twigs of the naio (spurious sandalwood) bound together in the same

manner. If the light burn with a pale flame, the fisherman will not meet with good luck, but if the torches burn with a bright red flame, he is likely to be very successful.

Fishing with Hīnaʻi, or Basket Traps

The Hawaiians have four kinds of basket traps or hīnaʻi. The hīnaʻi ʻōpae (shrimp basket), sometimes called ʻāpua ʻōpae, looks something like the coal scuttle bonnets of a hundred years ago, and is woven from the air roots of the ʻieʻie (Freycinetia arborea). This basket is used for mountain shrimping, which is attended to by women. They move in a crouching position through the water, moving small stones and thrusting sticks under large ones to drive the ʻōpae to a place where the grass, ferns, or branches of trees droop over on the water, the ʻōpae take refuge in or under these. The fisherwoman places her basket under the leaves and lifts them out of the water, and the ʻōpae drop into the basket; then she unties the small end of the basket and drops them into a small-mouthed gourd attached to a string, which she keeps floating after her, putting some fern leaves inside the gourd to keep the ʻōpae from creeping out, as these are lively little fellows who live a long time out of water and scamper about on terra firma like cockroaches.

The hīnaʻi hoʻoluʻuluʻu [diving basket], used in catching hīnālea (a small species of Julis), is a small basket made from the vines of the ʻāwikiwiki (a convolvulus), and is made anew from day to day as wanted. A light framework of twigs is first tied together and then the ʻāwikiwiki vines, leaves and all, are wound in and out round and round till the basket is of the requisite size, three or four feet around and about one and a half feet deep. Shrimp pounded and enclosed in coconut fibre is occasionally placed at the bottom of the basket for bait, but usually the scent of the bruised and withering ʻāwikiwiki leaves seems to be sufficient to attract the hīnālea. Women attend to this kind of fishing. They wade out to suitable places, generally small, sandy openings in coral ground or reef, and let the baskets down suitably weighted to keep them in position. The weights are attached in such a way as to be easily detached. Each woman then moves some distance away from her basket, from where she can watch the fish enter it.

When all the fish in sight have entered, the woman takes the basket up, transfers the fish to a large, small-mouthed gourd, and moves the

basket to a fresh place. This kind of fishing can only be done on calm, sunny days at low tide. Since the introduction of the weeping willow, the hīnaʻi hoʻoluʻuluʻu are sometimes made from willow twigs. Such baskets can be used over and over again. Men sometimes take such hīnaʻi and using wana (sea urchin) for bait, with the top of the shell broken to expose the meat, place them in comparatively deep water, piling stones around them to keep them in place. The men leave them for a day or two, and if the place is a good fishing ground, the baskets will be full by the time the men return.

The ʻūiʻūi basket is shallow, of about the same size as the hīnaʻi hoʻoluʻuluʻu, but wider mouthed, and used in deep water for catching a small flat fish called ʻūiʻūi [fantail filefish, or ʻōʻili ʻūiʻūi, or ʻuwīʻuwī] that appears at intervals of from ten, fifteen, to twenty years. Its appearance is believed to be a precursor of the death of a very high chief. At the last appearance of the ʻūiʻūi, imported marketing baskets were used by those who could not obtain the old-fashioned kind, as any old castaway basket would do, with a little patching, taking perhaps five minutes, and two sticks bent over the opening from side to side and at right angles to each other, forming a handle to which a draw string is tied. This draw string should be twisted round and round above the jointure with a little of the pōhuehue (sea convolvulus) with the leaves on, so as to throw a little shade in the basket to keep the fish from being drawn up to the surface of the water. In these baskets, cooked pumpkins, half-roasted sweet potatoes, or raw ripe papayas were placed for bait. The canoes carrying these baskets would sail right into the midst of a school of these fish; the baskets were then lowered a few feet into the sea, and the fish, being attracted by the scent of the bait, would rush into the baskets and feed greedily. As soon as the baskets were full of fish, they would be drawn up and emptied into the canoe and then lowered again, with more bait if necessary, and this would go on till the canoe was loaded, or the fishermen were tired. These fish are delicious when they first arrive, as they are fat, with their livers very much enlarged; after a month they become thinner, not perhaps procuring their proper food here, and then they taste strong and rank.

The ʻie kala basket is the largest kind of fishing basket used by the Hawaiians. These are round, rather flat, baskets four to five feet across, two and a half to three feet deep, and about one and a half feet across the mouth. A small cylinder or cone of wicker is attached by the large end to the mouth and turned inwards towards the bottom of the

basket. This cone or cylinder is quite small at the free end, just large enough for the kala to get in.

Immediately below the end of this cone, on the bottom of this basket, is placed the bait, properly secured, which in the case of the kala is limu kala (a coarse brownish yellow algae on which this fish feeds and from which it takes its name), ripe breadfruit, cooked pumpkins, half-roasted sweet potatoes, and papayas. This basket is called the ʻie lawe (taking basket). The fishermen generally feed the fish at a given place for a week or more before taking any, using large feeding baskets, similar to the ʻie lawe, but without the inverted cylinder and wider at the mouth to allow the fish free entry and exit. After a week or two of feeding, the fish become very fat and fine-flavored, and also very tame, so that baskets full of fish can be drawn up in the ʻie lawe without in the least disturbing the fish which are still greedily feeding in the feeding baskets. The ʻie kala are occasionally used to catch other kinds of fish, substituting bait known to attract particular kinds, but the technique is never as successful as with kala.

The Gilbert Islanders have of late years introduced fishing with a basket in a manner different from any formerly practiced by Hawaiians. This basket, called by a punger, is oblong and larger at one end than another, with a flat and oval top, convex like a carriage top, and gradually sloping to the small end. A cone with the end cut off is inserted at the large end, the body of the cone being inside of the opening into the basket. A trap door fixed on the end of the cone will open by a touch from the outside, but cannot be pushed open from the inside. The basket is taken to a good sandy place in two to four fathoms of water where there is plenty of coral or stones handy. The fisherman then dives and places the basket in the exact position he wishes; he then takes pieces of coral rock and begins to build up and around the basket, enclosing it completely with stones so as to form an artificial dark retreat for fish. The trap door to the basket is left exposed, and seeing an inviting entrance to a dark place, the fish go on an exploring expedition till they find themselves inside. Once inside they cannot get out. This basket is left from two days to a week at the bottom of the sea, after which the stones are displaced. The basket and its contents are hauled up to the canoe or boat, a door left at the smaller end of the basket is opened, the fish shaken out, and the basket is ready to be replaced in the sea.

Catching ʻOʻopu in Mountain Streams

The natives had a very ingenious method of catching ʻoʻopu, small fresh-water fish found mostly in our mountain streams and having the flavor of trout. They built a platform of large logs placed side by side across our larger streams on the mountain slopes. The platform is placed at about or just above the high water mark towards the end of the dry season when the water is low. When the first heavy rains of the season fall, and the streams get full, the water becomes so muddy with the wash from the sloping ground adjoining the banks that the ʻoʻopu of the previous dry season are driven away from their usual haunts in water holes, under large rocks, logs, etc., and are carried down by the hurrying waters. The ʻoʻopu always try to keep in the surface water as it is comparatively clear and are swept in immense quantities onto the platform, and from there into a ditch leading out to a plain where they are gathered up in immense quantities.

These ʻoʻopu are highly prized as they have a very delicate flavor from, it is supposed, having fed on the fallen flowers of the eugenias, which always line the banks of mountain streams, these fish are called ʻoʻopu-ʻai-lehua (lehua-fed ʻoʻopu). The ʻoʻopu breed or are hatched in salt water and the young fry ascend the streams to live and grow. The young are known as hinana, scarcely any larger than maggots, and seem to have a special aptitude for getting up almost perpendicular embankments or waterfalls.

Fishing with Hook and Line

Paea-ea is pole-fishing with hook and line. There are only seven kinds of fish sought for in the paeaea fishing. The favorite bait is ʻōpae. Earth worms are sometimes used and any obtainable fry of fish. The fisherman takes a handful of ʻōpae, baits his hooks, and then, bruising the remainder and wrapping it up in coconut fiber, ties it with a pebble on the line and close to the hooks; the bruised matter spreads through the water when the line is dropped and serves to attract fish toward the hooks. This bruised matter is called palu.

For hook and line fishing, generally practiced in deep water, kawakawa and aku (bonito) and ula (lobster) are the usual bait; if these are lacking, any kind of fish is used with varying results. Aku was formerly caught using muheʻe for bait, a kind of squid found floating on the surface of the sea in great quantities. A mother-of-pearl hook, or

pā, is also used in place of bait. Small mullets and ʻiʻiao (a small fish that comes in immense schools) are now the favorite bait, and must always be used in connection with the pā. These bait fish are taken out alive in large gourds or tubs to the fishing ground (that is, any place where aku are seen, usually three to ten miles out on the open sea) and are thrown overboard, a handful at a time; they will immediately take shelter in the shadow of the canoe. The aku, chasing the bait fish, are attracted in great numbers around the canoes, which, for this kind of fishing are generally double ones. The pā are then thrown in the water without being baited and are mistaken for fish by the aku because the hooks shimmer and glisten like the ʻiʻiao.

The pā, are of two kinds, the pā-hau (snowy pā) and the pā-ānuenue (rainbow pā). The pā-hau is used from morning till the sun is high, as the sun's rays striking it obliquely makes it glisten with a white pearly light which looks like the shimmer from the scales of the smaller kinds of fish on which the aku lives, but at midday when the sun's rays fall perpendicularly on it, it appears transparent and is not taken by the aku. The pā-ānuenue is then used. This hook has rainbow refractions, and the perpendicular rays of the sun make it shimmer and glisten like a living thing. Sometimes shells are found uniting the two characters, and such are always highly prized, as they can be used all day. The shell is barbed on the inner side with bone, and two tufts of hog's bristles are attached at the barbed end at right angles to it to keep the inner side up so the shell will lie flat on the surface of the sea.

For deep sea fishing, the hook and line are used without a rod, and our fishermen sometimes use lines over a hundred fathoms in length. Every rocky protuberance from the bottom of the sea for miles out in the waters around the islands was well known to the ancient fishermen, and so were the different kinds of rock fish likely to be met with on each separate rock. The ordinary habitat of every known species of Hawaiian fish was also well known to them. They often went fishing so far out from land as to be entirely out of sight of the low lands and mountain slopes and took their bearing from the different mountain peaks to locate the rock which was the habitat of the particular fish they were after.

Shark Fishing

The natives distinguish the sharks seen in Hawaiian waters into five species: the manō-kihikihi (hammer-head shark) and the lālākea

(white fin) are considered edible, as the natives insist these never eat human beings. Then comes the manō kanaka (man shark), the shark god of the ancient Hawaiiians, supposed to be entered and possessed by the spirits or souls of the descendants of the first shark god, who could take human form at will and left a numerous human progeny. This kind of shark was formerly fed on ʻawa (piper methysticum) and bananas and only bit or ate people who were in the wrong. Then comes the manō, a large white shark, the largest of all known to Hawaiians, but not a particularly ravenous one. It is very rarely seen. The niuhi completes the list, a very large shark and the fiercest of all. Fortunately, it very rarely appears in Hawaiian waters. In the night the bright greenish light of its eyeballs can be seen a long way off. These sharks will attack the largest of double canoes, and the fisherman's only safety is in precipitate flight at the first appearance of his greenish light. [Kamakau's list include three other types of sharks: luhia, lelewaʻa, and pahaha (*Works*, 87).]

The manō-kihikihi and smaller lālākea are caught with old nets, while the larger lālākea and also all the man-eating kinds are caught with hooks.

There has been no regular fishing of the niuhi for the last eighty years, but formerly, special preparations were made for its capture. The common kind of shark was caught in vast quantities, and the livers with a little of the flesh was wrapped in kī leaves and baked underground. Then from fifty to a hundred of the largest single and double canoes were loaded with the baked meat, along with large quantities of pounded ʻawa root, mixed with a little water in large gourds. The fleet would sail many miles out to sea in the direction in which the niuhi is known frequently to appear. Arriving at a comparatively shallow place, the canoe containing the head fisherman and the priest and sorcerer, who was supposed to be indispensable, would cast anchor; then meat and the baked liver would be thrown overboard, a few bundles at a time, to attract sharks. After a few days the grease and scent of cooked meats would spread through the water for many miles around. The niuhi would almost always appears after the third or fourth day, at which the bundles of the baked meats were thrown as fast as it could swallow them. After a while it would get comparatively tame and would come up to one or another of the canoes to be fed. Bundles of the liver with the pounded ʻawa would then be given to it, not only satiating it, but stupifying it with ʻawa, and a noose was then slipped over its head; then the fleet raised anchor

and set sail for home, the shark following as a willing prisoner, with the people of the nearest canoes taking care to feed it on the mixture of meat and ʻawa from time to time. It was led right into shallow water till it was stranded and then killed. Every part of its bones and skin was supposed to confer unflinching bravery on the possessor. The actual captor, that is, the one who slipped the noose over the niuhi's head, would also, ever after, be always victorious. This shark's natural home is, perhaps, in the warmer waters of the equator, as the Gilbert Islanders now here say it is very frequently seen and captured in their islands. The tradition here in Hawaiʻi is that it is only seen just after or during a heavy storm, when the disturbed waters perhaps drive it away from its natural haunts.

[For a description of the ritual hunting of a niuhi and the ʻailolo ceremony which culminated the lua training of the warrior chief Kekūhaupiʻo, see Desha's *Kamehameha and his Warrior Kekūhaupiʻo* (6-24).]

Fishing with ʻUpena, or Nets

There are two general types of fishing nets in use here, the ʻupena-pāloa (long nets), and the bag or purse nets, with endless variations of those two main types. The finest of the ʻupena-pāloa is a mesh one-half inch wide called nukunukuāʻula. This net is generally a fathom and a half deep and from forty to sixty fathoms long. It is used to surround and catch small mullets and awa (milkfish) in shallow waters to stock fish ponds. Small pebbles, frequently ringed or pierced, are used for sinkers, and pieces of the hau (Hibiscus Tiliaceus) and kukui (candle nut tree) for the floaters. ʻUpena-pāloa of one to two inch mesh are used for the larger mullets, awa weke, and pau-u-lua.

A two to two-and-a-half inch gill net is called ʻupena hoʻolewalewa or ʻupena apoapo, according to the use to which it is put. The ʻupena hoʻolewalewa (hanging net) is stretched across fish runs (that is, long sandy openings in the coral reefs) in shallow waters at high tide. Two, or sometimes one person, works this net, moving back and forth seaside of the net, taking out fish as fast as they are caught in the meshes. This way of fishing is practiced only at night. For ʻupena ʻapoʻapo (catching net), a place where fish are seen or likely to be is surrounded and the water inside the circle beaten, so that the frightened fish dart violently in every direction and are caught in the net.

The ʻupena ʻōʻio is a long net of three to four inch mesh, used for catching ʻōʻio, kala, nenue, and large awa-kalamoho (milkfish). Eighty, a hundred, a hundred and forty to a hundred and fifty fathoms long, by two to three fathoms deep, it is used in the deeper waters just inside, or in shallow waters just outside, the reef or breakers. For ʻōʻio fishing, the fishermen go out in canoes, with one man called the kilo (lookout) always standing upright on the cross bars of the canoe, keeping a sharp lookout for a school of ʻōʻio. When he sees one, the canoes follow it at a distance from place to place, or wait patiently if the school remains in an unfavorable place till it moves into the accustomed fishing grounds called kuʻuna ("where nets are dropped"). Two or three canoes are needed for this kind of fishing. When the fish are in a suitable place, one canoe approaches very cautiously and stations itself where its net will be dropped, while the other canoe carrying a net of the same kind makes a wide circuit till immediately opposite the first canoe, with the fish between them. The ends of the nets are dropped simultaneously from the two canoes, and both canoes paddle in a semi-circle while paying out net and striving to meet the dropped end of the other canoe's net as soon as possible so as to completely enclose the school before it becomes alarmed. Each canoe having met the end of the opposite net, if on sandy bottom, keeps on one side of the net already down while drawing its own net after it, thus gradually reducing the circle as well as making two or three rings of netting around the fish, so if they rush to any given point and bear down the floaters, those escaping from the first circle will still be enclosed by and caught in the outer ones. When the nets have encircled the school of ʻōʻio to the satisfaction of the head fisherman, all the fishermen jump overboard with their canoe poles and beat the water to frighten the fish, which dash here and there with great violence and, entangling themselves in the nets, are easily captured.

For ʻupena-kākā, the ʻōʻio or mullet nets are used either in daylight or at night, though the best catches are almost always obtained at night. The nets are dropped in a semi-circle on one side of an area to be fished. Some of the fishermen make a wide sweep to the opposite side of the area, fan out, and move rapidly towards the net, beating the waters with their arms as they go, and thus driving the fish from quite a distance into the comparatively small area partly enclosed by the nets, while the two men holding the kuku (sticks supporting the ends of the net and standing perpendicularly in the water) run toward each other at the approach of the beaters. Should the water be dirty and

the net rather long, the ends are then gathered together till the circle is reduced and the fish all taken. If at night, numbers of iʻa-koʻa (reef fish) are taken along with the iʻa-hele (fish that run in schools).

The nae is the finest of all nets, the mesh being only one-fourth inch. One net of this mesh, the ʻupena pua, is used to catch young mullet fry for stocking ponds or for eating. This net is generally a piece, a fathom square, attached on two sides to sticks about three feet long and pulled in, the bottom rope shorter than the upper one and forming an irregular square opening to a shallow bag, which is supplemented by a long narrow bag about three or four inches wide and two feet deep. The sea convolvulus (a vine generally found growing on the beach) is twisted – leaves, branchlets, and all – into two thick, bushy ropes some fifteen or twenty feet long. These ropes, attached on each side of the net to the kuku (side sticks), are drawn forward in a semi-circle, sweeping the shoals of fry toward the net till enough fish are partly enclosed. Then the two free ends of the net are brought rapidly together in a circle which is gradually reduced, the same as in long net fishing, till all the fry are driven into the bag.

The same nae mesh made into a larger bag is used in fishing for ʻōhua, a small, but highly prized fish, which lives in and on the limu kala, a coarse algae that grows on coral in shallow water. Ropes, one, two, or even three hundred fathoms long, with dry kī leaves braided on them by the stems, the blade ends of the leaves hanging loose and free, are swept around from opposite directions, finally enclosing a circle which is afterwards reduced in the same manner as in long net fishing or pua fishing. Great numbers of men, women and children assist by holding the ropes down to the bottom and splashing and disturbing the limu to drive the fish away from the ropes and into the net. Persons are generally stationed every yard or so on the ropes to create a disturbance and also to disentangle the ropes if they are caught on a rock or other obstruction. When the circle is narrowed to from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, one end of the ropes is untied and the ends attached to the ends of the kuku of the bag net, forming a guard on each side, and the circle further reduced till the fish are all driven into the net.

ʻUpena uluulu (diver's net) is a small bag of two-inch mesh, about two and a half feet across the opening or mouth of the bag, and the same in depth. Two sticks are attached on each side of the opening, leaving a space of half a foot wide between them. This net is managed by a single person who dives to the small caves and holes, well known

to local fishermen, in the bottom of the sea. He places the mouth of his net across the opening of the cave or hole, then inserts into the hole a slender rod, with a tuft of grass (pula) at the end, and gently drives the fish which may be in there out into the mouth of his net, which he then closes by bringing the two sticks together. Then placing his driving stick over the closed mouth to prevent the fish from escaping, he rises to the surface and empties his bag into the canoe, then goes to another cave or fish hole where he repeats the operation till tired or satisfied with his catch.

The ʻupena uhu is for catching uhu (parrot fish), a very highly prized kind of rock fish of two species, the red and the green. The red varieties, called uhu ʻula, are the more choice ones for eating raw. The green, called uhu ʻeleʻele, are not so fine-flavored, but attain a larger size. The net for these fishes is a square of two or three inch mesh, which has been slightly gathered on the ropes and attached at the four corners to the ends of two strong, slender sticks that cross each other midway and are tied together. When crossed, the sticks spread the net open in the form of a shallow bag, and when brought together, the sticks close the net. A live decoy fish, which must have been previously caught with the ʻupena uluulu (diver's net) or with hook and line, is attached to a string, then dropped from the canoe in a place where uhu are seen or known to frequent. The decoy is moved back and forth gently; this is called hoʻohaehae, or "teasing the fish." Every uhu that can see the decoy fish is immediately attracted to its strange actions, and when all in the vicinity have been attracted, the net is gently dropped at a little distance from the decoy, which is then gently drawn into the net. All the fish rush after it into the net, which is then quickly pulled up, the sticks bending over, which elongates the bag and reduces the size of the mouth. By a peculiar twitch and pull on the string, the sticks can be made to swing around and lie parallel, thus closing the bag. No diving is necessary for this kind of fishing beyond the diving to get a decoy. This net is also used for several other kinds of rock fish whose habits are known to be the same as the uhu's, provided an appropriate decoy is first caught. For this kind of fishing, fishermen almost always carry kukui nut or coconut meat, which they chew and spit into the water from time to time to smooth the sea so they can observe the bottom.

ʻUpena ʻōpule is a bag net a fathom long, with a small oval mouth two or three feet wide. It is used with a decoy ʻōpule, previously caught, which is drawn back and forth at the mouth of the net.

ʻUpena ʻaʻai-ʻōpelu is a large one-inch mesh net, eight fathoms deep, used in deep waters. The ʻōpelu is the Hawaiian mackerel, a small narrow fish caught only at certain seasons [that is, during Kau, the summer season]. Cooked pumpkins are placed at the bottom of the net for bait and lowered some fathoms beneath the surface; the scent of the pumpkin diffusing through the water attracts the ʻōpelu, and they enter the bag to feed on the bait. When a sufficient number of the ʻōpelu have entered the net, the net is rapidly drawn up and emptied of fish; more pumpkin is put in, and the fishermen sail to a fresh place to drop the bag.

ʻUpena ʻiʻiao and nehu are used for two kinds of very small fish that come at certain seasons in immense schools and are much used for bait. Pickled and dried, they are very good eating. The net is a fine mesh bag shaped exactly like a pua net, but much larger. It is used with a lau (rope with kī leaves attached), the same as for ʻupena ʻōhua, only this sort of fishing net requires no diving as it is used in deep water.

Laʻau melomelo is a billet of hard wood scented in order to attract fish. It looks something like a club, rounded at the ends, with one end narrower than the other and having a little ringed knob to which a string is tied. This club, after being prepared with proper attention to the usual superstitions common to fishermen, is then slightly charred over a fire. Kukui nut meat and coconut in equal quantities are baked, pounded and tied up in a wrapping of coconut fiber (the sheath around the stem of a coconut leaf) and the fishermen then start on a canoe for the fishing grounds, which are not deeper than four or five fathoms. Arriving there they grease the laʻau melomelo with the oily juice of the pounded nuts and drop the stick overboard, allowing it to hang suspended a few feet from the bottom. The scent of the baked nut meat diffusing through the water seems to have a powerful attraction for some kinds of fish, which surround the stick, as if to smell or nibble at it. After a while the bag net is dropped overboard with its mouth open towards the stick; when the stick is brought up gently into the net, the fish continue to surround the stick and follow it into the net. Two persons then dive and approaching the net gently, quickly close its mouth and give the signal to those in the canoe to haul it up. Some laʻau melomelo were more attractive to fish than others, or more lucky; the fishermen ascribed this to the more perfect performance of the incantation made at the cutting of the stick from the tree and the stick's subsequent preparation.

The hano is a large bag net of a very fine mesh, with a flaring mouth, used to capture flying fish. There are two varieties of flying fish here, the large mālolo and the small puhiki‘i, entirely distinct from each other. The same net and method of capture is also employed for the iheihe, a long thin fish, usually a foot and a half long, with a very sharp-pointed snout. This fish generally arrives here at about the same time as the mālolo. The hano is also occasionally employed to catch akule, another fish that arrives in schools.

For mālolo fishing, a double canoe or a large single one carrying the hano and an attending fleet from 20 to 40 canoes make an early morning start. Women very often go in this kind of fishing to help paddle the canoes as no particular skill is called for on the part of the general hands, the success of the fishing depending altogether on the good judgment and sight of the kilo (lookout). This person generally rides on a light canoe manned by only two or three paddlers, and he is always standing up on the cross ties of the canoe looking for the mālolo; whenever he discerns a strong ripple, he points it out to the rest of the canoes, which then surround the spot indicated while the kilo confers with the head fishermen about the best place to drop the hano, depending on the direction of the current; when the net is ready, the canoes paddle very quickly in toward it, splashing the water and driving the fish before them into the open net. It seems these fish will not dive to any depth and are always found swimming very near the surface, so, when completely surrounded by canoes, they can be driven wherever wanted. The fleet very often goes several miles out to sea after mālolo, and this fishing is called one of the lawaia-o-kaiuli, or blue-sea fishing.

‘Upena kolo (towing net) is the largest of all nets, and can only be used in a very few places, like Honolulu Harbor, Pu‘uloa (Pearl Harbor), etc. It is an immense bag from sixteen to twenty-four fathoms deep. Small meshed and narrow at the extreme end, but widening out into an immense flaring mouth, with long nets 16 to 20 fathoms deep attached to each side and called its pepeiao (ears). This net is swept from one side of the harbor to the other, scooping up every kind of fish. A great many sharks a fathom long are sometimes caught in it, but the net is generally used when the mullet is in roe and is designed for the capture of large quantities of that fish. It requires a great many hands to manage it.

Lau kapalili (“trembling leaves”) fishing requires a large bag net called a papa (smaller than the kolo, but larger than the ‘ōhua or

ʻiʻiao net, but of the same general shape); and two lau (ropes with kī leaves attached), 300 or 400 fathoms long, the same as in lau ʻōhua. Generally the lau of two or more ʻōhua nets are joined together and piled onto a large double canoe, which is taken out two or three miles from shore, attended by a fleet of from 60 to 100 single canoes. The head fisherman always goes on the canoe containing the net and lau. Having arrived at the right distance, directly outside of the final drawing place on shore, the end of one lau is joined to that of the other, and two canoes manned by eight or ten strong men take the other ends of the lau, one each, and start in opposite directions and exactly parallel with the shore while the double canoe remains stationary in the center till all the lau is paid out. Meanwhile, the rest of the canoes have divided into two companies and each company follows one of the two leading canoes, stationing themselves at certain distances on the lau and helping to pull it. When the lau is all paid out, the two leading canoes then curve in toward shore, forming the lau into a semi-circle. Then all the canoes paddle toward shore, the two leading canoes pulling with all their might. When the ends are landed, the men immediately leap out and taking hold of the lau, pull on it, at the same time going towards each other, which has the effect of narrowing the semi-circle, while most of the canoes keep backing on to the double canoe, which always keeps the center. Having arrived at a suitable place, always a clean sandy one a few rods from shore, the two lau are untied and attached to each end of the papa net; men, women, and children now gather closely on the lau, especially where it joins the net and make a great disturbance with their feet, which drives all the fish into the net. Lau and net are finally drawn ashore.

Lau kapalili fishing can only be done on a clear, bright, sunny day, so that the shadows cast by the leaves can be seen and serve to drive the fish inland. It is called the "fishing of Kings," as only the aliʻi could command a sufficient number of canoes, men, and lau to carry it out. For the same reason, the niuhi, or tiger shark, was called the "gamefish of Kings." The late Kamehameha V, whose favorite residence was at Waikīkī, frequently ordered the lau kapalili.

Fishponds

We have two kinds of fish ponds or enclosures – fresh water ones, from half an acre to two or three acres in extent; and salt water ponds, generally very large and enclosing an area of many acres.

The saltwater ponds are of two kinds, those entirely closed, in which fish are fed and fattened; and those surrounded by a low wall that is submerged at high tide and has openings, walled on each side to form lanes leading in or out of the pond.

The lanes or fish-runs are from fifteen to twenty feet long and radiate from the wall both inside and out. They are about two feet wide at the opening in the wall and flare out gradually till they are from eight to ten feet wide at the ends. At night when the tide is coming in, a man, or more frequently a woman, takes a small scoop net just wide enough to fill the entrance of the opening and three or four feet deep and wades out to the entrance of one of these runs; on a raised stone platform on the side of the run, she sits holding the net in the water at the entrance of the opening towards the sea, and waits very quietly until a jerk in the net is felt; then she pulls the net up immediately before the fish have time to back out, drops the fish into a gourd or basket, and immediately returns the net to the water to wait for more fish.

Two persons generally do this kind of fishing together, sitting on opposite sides of the entrance, so that as one net is raised, another one is still there, as under certain conditions of the water and weather, two persons will be kept busy scooping up fish as fast as the nets can be lowered. No fish must be allowed to get free as that would put a stop to the fishing at that entrance during that turn of the tide.

These entrances are favorite stations for the ground sharks of the neighborhood to prey on the fish going in or out, so when the tide is about medium height, the fishing people return to shore, as their platforms would be entirely submerged at high tide. At the next turn of the tide, when the platforms are exposed again, other parties take their turn at the lanes, using those with entrances opening inwards. These fish ponds, know as umeiki, are sometimes owned by the proprietors of two adjoining lands, the people of one owning the right to fish during the rise of the tide, or kai-kī, and the other during the ebb, or kai-emi. Fishermen also use long nets in these ponds, but only during the tide belonging to their group.

The large salt or brackish water ponds, entirely enclosed, have one, two, or four gates called mākāhā. These are made of straight sticks tied onto two or three cross beams, the sticks standing upright as closely as possible, so that no fish thicker than half an inch can pass through them, while water and young fry can pass freely in and out. Scoop nets the width of the gates are used at these places at the flow

of the tide to scoop up such fish as may be desired for family use by the owner or pond keeper. When any large quantity is wanted, the long net, generally known as ʻupena kuʻu (gill net), is used, the same as in shallow-sea fishing.

Freshwater ponds are very seldom over half an acre in extent and are for ʻoʻopu and ʻōpae preserves, and sometimes for awa, a kind of tropical salmon that breeds in brackish water, but will live and grow fat in fresh water. The young awa fry are procured in shallow waters on the beach where a stream or spring of freshwater mingles with the sea, then are carried to the freshwater pond, sometimes many miles inland, in large gourds filled with water.

The catfish has been introduced four years ago and is doing well. Carp have also been introduced very recently, but it is yet too early to pronounce on the success or otherwise of the experiment to raise them here.

Appendix 2.

He Moʻolelo no ka Lawaiʻa
An Account of Fishing

[From Fornander, Vol. 6, 172-191]

There were gods of fishing from the very beginning of fishing till today; and these gods have taken care of those who fish, so that their work can be done right and be successful. Here are the names of the fishing gods: Kūʻula was the husband, Hina the wife, and ʻAiʻai the son. ʻAlea in Hāna, Maui, was the land where they lived. When Kahoaliʻi ruled as aliʻi of Hāna, with his dwelling place on the hill of Kaʻuiki, and his fishing folks being the Kūʻula family, he one day sent his kahu (attendants) to get some fish from this family. This was the king's customary practice until he became angry at them.

When the kahu went to Kūʻula and Hina, the couple gave them a kahala, or amberjack. The couple spoke honestly to the kahu with these words for the aliʻi: "You two go back and tell the king to rip open the fish, salt the meat, roast the bone in the underground oven, and when it is cooked, eat it, because now is a swollen time [a time of famine]."

> Bring, O Kama,
> The fish of victory.
> Here is Hāna,
> A swollen land.

However, when the kahu returned to Kahoaliʻi, they spoke with falsehood and deceit, saying: "Your fishermen said to salt your flesh and roast your head and bones in the oven."

When the king heard these deceitful words of his kahu, he was enraged and ordered that Kūʻula and Hina be put to death. The people went to destroy Kūʻula's house by fire. However, Kūʻula and Hina had supernatural powers and heard the aliʻi's order. They prepared three small gourd calabashes, to be exploded in the fire, so that they might escape.

Kūʻula, Hina, and ʻAiʻai were in the house when it was set on fire and the exits closed. Kūʻula said to the son: "Say, you must live, and we two will die. If the smoke from the fire settles down towards the mountain, there is where you will go for a dwelling place, while we two will go and dwell in the sea."

At the time the fire was burning and enveloping the outside of the house, the smoke leaned towards the mountain. ʻAiʻai went and lived in a cave there, while his parents went through the smoke which settled down on the sea, and they dwelt in the ocean. The three unripe gourds exploded in the fire, so the aliʻi thought that the Kūʻulas had been destroyed, roasted in the flames.

With the departure of Kūʻula, Hina, and ʻAiʻai, all the fish was taken from the near shore and deeper ocean waters adjacent to Hāna. No fish whatsoever were caught by the fishermen of Kahoaliʻi because Kūʻula and Hina had fish bodies and controlled the fish of the sea.

As for ʻAiʻai, he went to a cave in a low cliff, where he remained in seclusion until found by Pilihawawa, who took him as a friend to his house where they remained together. During their companionship their occupation was cultivating the land, but though they obtained ʻai, or vegetable food, there was no iʻa, or fish. ʻAiʻai told his friend they should weave a basket for catching hīnālea, or wrasse. So they wove a basket, and when they finished they went down to the rocky seashore and placed it in position. Then ʻAiʻai called on his parents for fish:

> O Kūʻula and Hina,
> Send the fish in,
> The young hīnālea and the ʻōpule [a wrasse].

Hina said to Kūʻula: "Give some fish to our son." At this time the basket was standing in place and the fish came into it until it overflowed, the basket being packed full. So Pilihawawa collected the fish and placed them on dry land. Then Kūʻula sent in a wave that covered and hid all the other fish in the sea. Only the fish in the basket remained. Thus this method of fishing had its beginning, and fishermen practice it to this day.

Hina is an actual stone which still exists today. She controls certain fish – the aku (bonito), the akule (big-eyed scad), the ʻōʻio (bonefish), the moi (threadfish), the aʻu (spearfish), the manini (striped surgeonfish).

Kūʻula and ʻAiʻai are also fishing stones, which to this day, possess

a certain sacredness. (The fishing deities throughout the islands were simply certain designated stones; in no case were they carved images.)

Reddish things are sacred to Kūʻula, such as the red dye, and the red waist cloth, and everything of a reddish hue, and so on. Kūʻula spread all the different kinds of fishing methods and fish throughout these islands; and he and his son were teachers of fishing.

There are many kinds and divisions in fishing; different kinds for shallow water, for deep water, and for fishing grounds in midocean. There are also various ways of catching fish, those done at the night differing from those done by day; those done in the morning differing from those done in the evening. The methods include hāhāmau (groping and grabbing), ʻinikiʻiniki (pinching), kīkomo (hook and rod), kāmākoi (rod and line), kīolaola (casting), hōʻauʻau (snaring), hoʻoluʻuluʻu (trapping), ʻō (spearing), moemoe (ambushing); canoe fishing with net; hī aku (bonito casting), kapae (catching flying fish with hook and line), kākā uhu (catching uhu with a decoy and net), squid-catching, and so forth; with bait, with hook, with line, with rod, with stone, with wood, and so forth.

The seasons for fishing changed during the year, not always all done at the same time; there were auguries for telling the right time to fish, or not to fish. Certain kinds of fishing were under restrictions, while others were unrestricted; there was single-handed fishing and fishing in parties; some fishing was done with canoe, and some without canoe.

Ka Lawaiʻa a me Nā Iʻa: Methods of Fishing and Fish

Nā Lawaiʻa o ka Maloʻo: Dry (Or Shore) Fishing

1. Hāhāmau, or fishing by groping for and seizing fish [hāhā: to grope]: This method of fishing is done on moonlight nights. When the moon rises and the tide ebbs, the women go fishing along the shore, along the rocky ledges and boulders and on shallow-water coral reefs where the surf breaks. While feeling in crevices with the hands, the fingers are curled. These are the fishes caught: heʻepali (small rock octopus), ʻōlali (a young stage of the hou fish), hou (a wrasse), ʻāwela (a young stage of the hou fish), ʻāniholoa (no data), mananalo (manaloa, a nenue?), pāoʻo-lakei, pāoʻo-kauwila, pāoʻo-luahine. [Hawaiian dictionary: Pāoʻo iis the name for several varieties of ʻoʻopu, or goby fish, called rockskippers because of their ability to jump from tide pool to tide pool].

2. Holoholo, or going to and fro: This method of fishing is done with a net called holoholo (or ʻupena poʻo, or head net). The net consists of a piece of alaheʻe wood twelve feet long, with the net tied in a circular manner to the flexible wood. The net is to be let down at a place where the sea is ebbing swiftly. One person holds the net, and the other drives the fish into it. Fish caught by this method are uhu, kala, uouoa, manini, and nenue.

3. He kūkulu ʻupena, or a standing net: This net can be cast (hoʻolei) anywhere, being adapted to both deep and shallow water fishing. The fisherman stands on the shore and casts the net. The fish caught are ʻālo ʻiloʻi (a damselfish), hīnālea, and lauhau (butterfly fish). (The net is said to be both "standing" or "erect" (kūkulu) and for casting (hoʻolei).)

4. Ka ʻiniki ʻiniki puhi, or "pinching eel": This method involves fishing by hand, the bait being held in the right hand, while the left hand snatches the eel. These are the baits: ʻaʻama, paiʻea, and heʻepali. This kind of fishing is done along the black rocky seashore, like the Kohala coast. There the fishing is done at high tide when the sea is rough (kaikoʻo). The only fish caught in this way is the eel. [Hawaiian dictionary: the bait is held in the palm of the hand and the fist is clenched when the eel comes to get the bait.]

5. Kīkomo: A hook is attached to a rod six feet long. The place for fishing is a cleft in the rocks. Eels are caught.

6. Ke kāmākoi, or fishing with a pole: The pole is eighteen feet long, made of bamboo or of hau. The line is also eighteen feet long. The baits are ʻaʻama (black crab), ʻina (sea urchin), peʻa (starfish), and heʻepali (small octopus). The fisher stands at a headland or other suitable place. The fish caught are the uhu (parrot fish), halahala (young kāhala, or amberjack), hou (a variety of shallow-water reef fish),ʻaʻawa (a wrasse), ʻoʻopukai (salt-water goby fish), hīnālea (a wrasse), ʻāniholoa (?), and ʻāwela (the young stage of the hou).

7. Kāʻeʻe: The net used is called nae, a net of very small mesh. (Hawaiian dictionary: a hand net hanging on an ellipsoidal wooden frame with one end pointed.) The net is used on rocky bottoms covered with a very thin sheet of water. All kinds of small fish are caught are

ʻōhua, pāoʻo, āholehole, and pua manini.

8. Hīnaʻi, or basket trap: The basket is woven in the manner of wicker chairs, with the opening on the top, standing about one foot high. Wana, ʻina and hāʻukeʻuke are used as bait. The basket is placed in the sea, on coral, flat bottom, or rocky places. After the basket is set, the fisherman swims away. Fish enter the basket and the fisherman returns to collect them. The only fish caught with this kind of basket is the hīnālea.

9. Hīnaʻi puka nui, or basket with a large opening: This is a large basket, two feet high, used for deep sea fishing. These are the fishes caught: pānuhunuhu (star-eye parrot fish), halahala, and uhu.

10. ʻUpena uluulu, or snagging net: a yard-wide net is attached to two sticks each a yard long on each side. This net is used to catch fish in holes. One man holds the net on one side of the hole, and another man with a pole stirs up the water in the hole to drive the fish into the net. The fish caught are kumu, uhu, and so forth.

11. Ka ʻupena kai, or sea net: This net is called by fishermen the "mouth of a shark"; the uluulu net (No. 10) is called the "belly of the shark"; and the hīnālea fishing basket (No. 8) ic called "the eye of the shark." In these kinds of fishing fishermen are apt to be attacked and killed by sharks, hence the names. The ʻupena kai is placed deep down in the sea. One dives down, clears away the rocks, and positions the net so that fish enter and are caught.

12. Ke ʻō, or spear: The ʻō is a long pole, three yards long, with a very sharp-pointed piece of iron [after iron was introduced by Westerners] half an arm's length at one end. This method of fishing is practiced by those who can hold their breaths for a long time and who know how to spear. A fisherman dives and stays down by grasping the bottom with one hand, while the other hand holds the spear. He watches for a fish to come around, and when it comes in sight he spears it – all kinds of fish in the ocean. The length of time it takes to stay down is about half an hour, but in case a shark is encountered, fully one whole hour may be taken in staying down in the deep. How marvelous!

13. ʻUpena kuʻu, or hanging gill-net: This large net is over a hundred feet long and seven feet wide. It is hung in the sea, two men holding it while four men drive in the fish.

14. He ʻupena hulihuli, or searching net: This net is placed in the sea. Then the rocks around it are turned over and the frightened fish flee into the net.

15. He ʻupena pākuʻikuʻi, or thrashing net: A man swims seaward and sets the net, while another man thrashes the sea from the shore-side. The noise drives the fish into the net.

16. Ka ʻō heʻe, or octopus spear: The fisherman takes a pole into the sea and thrusts it into a hole to kill the octopus hiding there.

17. Ka ʻupena honu, or turtle net: This net is 240 feet long and twenty-four feet wide. Ten men are needed to handle this net to catch a turtle. Only when a turtle is seen at the surface of the sea is the net cast. One to five turtles may be taken in a single haul.

All these methods of fishing are done at sea by persons diving or wading, without a canoe.

No ka Lawaiʻa Waʻa: Canoe Fishing

1. Lūheʻe, or octopus fishing: The cowry shell is used as a lure, together with a stone. A curved spur is fitted below the shell to hook the octopus. The shell and the stone must be the same shape, as the octopus will not seize the lure if the stone doesn't match the shell, when they are placed together, the stone underneath, the shell on top. So the stone is carved to resemble the shell. If the shell is spotted, the stone must also be spotted, and so in all other particulars. If the stone and shell match each other exactly, the octopus will seize it when it is let down from the canoe into the sea. The man in the canoe shakes the line in order to move the shell and stone along the bottom. The octopus pursues to grip the stone. If the shell is attractive, the catch may amount to forty octopi, more or less.

2. ʻŌkilo heʻe, or looking for octopus: A hook with a stone attached are used to catch the octopus. The fisherman chews the kukui nuts and

blows the oily mash on the sea to smooth it so he can see the bottom. When he locates an octopus in a hole, he lets the hook down. There are several varieties of octopus, and it is capable of camouflaging its body in various ways; that is why the kukui is blown on the sea, to smooth it and allow the fisherman to see more clearly. Here are the different forms of the octopus at different times: in the morning, its skin resembles bread. Toward noon it is red. In the afternoon it is brown, similar to seaweed. In the evening it is dark like the coral. All octopi, both large and small, change in the same way. Those who are not learned in discerning the octopus are not fit for this kind of fishing.

3. Ka lau, or leaf-fishing: Kī leaves are fastened to a hau-bark rope in small bundles and the rope is dragged through the water to scare the fish into a net. The net comes in two sizes. If the net is 84 feet long (fourteen fathoms), the rope is 720 feet long (three times forty fathoms) and many people take part in the fishing. If the net is 54 feet long (nine fathoms), the kī leaf rope is 1440 feet long (six times forty fathoms). The kī-leaf rope and the net are taken offshore in canoes. The people are on shore hold onto the ends and pull the kī leaf rope through the water, driving fish to where the net is paid out. Many kinds of fish are caught by this fishing method.

(The lau is a rope with dry kī leaves, three or four strung in it at intervals according to size. For convenience in handling, this rope is formed of ten fathom lengths, and when the kī leaves are inserted each length is called a kumu lau. There may be as many as ten lengths used in fishing for ʻōhua (juvenile fish), depending on the number of people participating, but not less than four, one being required at each end of the lau and one at each end of' the net. At first the kumu lau are joined in the center, which point is marked by a slender stick some six feet long of about an inch in thickness, called kuku. The lau, which up to this time have been dragged along in a bunch, are then paid out from this central point, each leader going in an opposite direction. The others divide, half going to one side and half to the other of the kuku, for the purpose of pressing down the leafed rope and at the same time pushing it forward. Having come to the end of their respective lau the leaders work forward and gradually form a semicircle with the whole lau. On arriving at a suitable place for laying the net, the head fisherman takes hold of the kuku and shoves it into the sand, or rock, which is the signal to stop pulling for a while. The shock of the kuku digging into the sand is felt all along the line. All halt in their places.

The kuku is then pulled out, splitting the kumu lau, each of which is attached to the mouth of the net. The net is carried, partly dragged, in the water by two men, who follow, who follow the middle of the lau as shown by the kuku. When the head fisherman signals to cease pulling awhile, the net is spread out in position and the kumu lau are attached to it on either side of the mouth. At a given signal, the leaders of the lau come together; the lomi lau, those who press the leaves down, then work forward so that in a short while the two sides form the fence to a pathway leading straight to the mouth of the net. When the two leaders come together they press the leaves towards the net. This is usually done by one of them grabbing the two ropes which form the fence above referred to and bringing them together) thus driving the fish towards the net. This is the crucial moment and has to be done quickly so, as to give the fish no time to come back, after striking the net. Care must also be taken that the lau do not form "pockets" along their lengths lest the fish circle round in them and dive under them. The head fisherman meanwhile watches the mouth of the net and when no more fish are entering, the net is raised. In the daytime this method of fishing is called lau ʻōhua. ʻŌhua, puaʻula, hīnālea, weke, pua ʻōʻio, kūmū, moano, and other fish which abound in limu-covered shoals are gathered. At night, this same kind of fishing is called lauahi. Larger fish are caught such as kūmū, pua ʻula, moano, weke. nenue, uku, ula (lobster) and puhi (eels). Daytime fishing on a large scale, often going beyond the reef into the deep sea, is called lau lele. The method of fishing is the same, but it is more laborious.)

4. ʻUpena kāwaʻa, or net thrown overboard from a canoe: This is a large net, and three are used in this method of fishing. Each is 120 feet (twenty fathoms) long. Three canoes are employed; one canoe is loaded with stones and two with nets. One canoe pays out its net, and so does the other, in opposite direction. Then the canoes go farther out, turn, and come back inland throwing the big stones to drive fish into the nets. A large number of fish can be caught using this method.

5. ʻUpena waha nui, or large-mouth net: A rope 120 feet (twenty fathoms) long has the hala leaves and ʻākia (a shrub with leafy branches) attached about a foot apart. The leaves, called pula (leafy branch used as a broom to drive fish) number about forty; in some cases more are used. These are used to drive the fish toward the net.

The fisherman reveals his resourcefulness in using this net. The net is first set in a place where the water is rough and where fish might run to hide. Then the pula is drawn along, and the fish, on seeing it, run to the rough water and are all caught in the net.

6. ʻUpena hoʻolewalewa, or hanging net: Three canoes are employed for this net, one for actual fishing and two to carry the nets. One canoe, which is the one on the right-hand side, carries the bag, the other canoe is the one on the left-hand side. [In setting the nets] the belly of the net forms the juncture of the two nets. At the mouth of the side nets the fishermen dive toward the middle, driving the fish back into the bag and are thus caught.

7. ʻUpena pākuʻikuʻi, or thrashing net: This net is the same as the hanging net, with a bag between two side nets, but the method of driving the fish into the bag is different. After the net is set, poles four fathoms long are used to thrash the water and frighten the fish into the net in an angry and mighty rush. In both lau and bag-net fishing very fine-mesh nets are used.

8. ʻUpena mālolo, or flying-fish net: This is a large net, being eighteen fathoms long and six fathoms high, and the mouth is twelve fathoms long. This is a fine-meshed net. These are the names of the different kinds of these nets: nukunuku ā ʻula (finger-tip mesh), makahi (single mesh), makalua (double mesh), makolu (triple mesh). Many canoes are used in this kind of fishing, maybe thirty. Sometimes one canoe carries the net; sometimes five, and so on. The net canoe leads with six men aboard. The paddlers are called "pāhoe mālolo" (paddlers who beat their paddles rhythmically against the side of the canoe to drive fish into a net). The canoes are paddled together in a line when encompassing the fish; after they are near the net, the canoes are backed, then the net is drawn in. There are two canoes allotted for receiving the fish, a younger-child canoe (waʻa pōkiʻi) and a first-born-child canoe (waʻa hiapo). The waʻa pōkiʻi belongs to the net owner; the waʻa hiapo belongs to the paddlers; the tally fish belongs to the wife of the net owner. In the net canoe three positions get a portion of the net-owners catch: the steersman at the stern of the canoe, the paddler at the bow of the canoe, and the paddler at mid-canoe.

(The younger and elder canoes may indicate relative size for the division of the catch. These terms are not known to present-day

fishermen. As a rule the canoe owner received one-third of the catch, the helpers (paddlers and fishermen) took two thirds. Fish are counted by fours, termed a kauna. This comes from the custom of seizing two fish at a time in each hand at their discharging or handling, each throw of the hands being called a kauna. The division of net hauls in fishing was of necessity done on reaching shore, while line-fishing permitted this to be done at sea, if desired, as the fish were caught.)

9. Ke kapae: This method of catching flying-fish is done on windy days. The line is twenty-seven fathoms long. This fish is caught with hook baited with lobster, or flying-fish meat. The wind and tide bear these. The flying-fish is buoyant on the sea, and so is the line; thus this fish is caught. Thirty or so of these flying-fish are caught on each line in this method of fishing.

10. Ke kōheoheo: Kōheoheo is a piece of wiliwili wood with a live flying-fish attached. The fishing line is five fathoms long. The object is to attract the mahimahi, and when it becomes ferocious, the line and hook is thrown. When the fish bites the paddling of the canoe ceases. The mahimahi is a very game fish when caught with a hook. It is a great struggler and snorts when leaping up. A large mahimahi may be a fathom (six feet) and more long, and a small mahimahi may be a muku (four and a half feet). A large mahimahi is called a lapalapa, or ao, having a width of an iwilei (a yard) from the forehead to the mouth. Here are the other names of the mahimahi: lapalapa, ao, and papaʻohe [Hawaiian dictionary: papaʻohe refers to the young of the akule]. The principal food of the mahimahi are flying-fish – lelepō and puhikiʻi.

11. Kāhala, or amberjack, fishing: The line used is two hundred fathoms long. Fishing for kāhala requires an abundance of line and hooks. The habitat of this fish is a koʻa – a small mound on the bottom of the ocean, where the depth changes. A koʻa is a plain mound, which the fisherman cannot see, but by letting down the hook and line, he discovers a good koʻa where the hook will not get snagged.

The koʻa is a place of great enjoyment by all the kāhala. The size of the koʻa is about the same as that of a small village with houses standing and the people gathered in crowds. According to the depth to the koʻa, so is the length of the line. Forty hooks, more or less, are attached to a line before letting it down. A stone as large as a poi pounder is at the lowermost end, and from the stone to the [nearest]

hook is a distance of one fathom. As the line hangs perpendicularly so the hooks hang, a yard from one hook to another, and so on till all the forty hooks are fastened. These hooks are called kaka, ʻulaʻula (red snapper), koʻae (a snapper), lehe (deep-sea fish resembling an ulua), mokuleʻia (amberjack), after the kind of fish caught on the lower hooks; on the uppermost hooks the kāhala are caught. Mūheʻe (cuttlefish), ʻōpelu, and heʻe (octopus) are the baits for catching kāhala. The shaking of the line indicates biting of the fish. In this method of fishing, landmarks are necessary to find the koʻa. For example, he landmarks to be looked for are as follows: Hapuu is the most noted koʻa in the sea of Alenuihaha, north of Kohala, Hawaii. Hukiaa is the land to which this station belongs, and there is a wide extent from the land to this koʻa of Hapuu, about three miles distant perhaps. It is over twelve hundred feet down. The landmark to look for is Hapuʻu, in the lowlands of Halawa, which is six miles distant. It is a temple built by Kamehameha called "House of Kaili." The mark to be looked for in the uplands is Puʻuiki, a hōlua slide, which is at ʻUpolo, west of Hukiaa. When these come in line, the koʻa for fishing for kāhala is located.

12. Kākā uhu, or fishing for parrot fish: A narrow net not deep, a fathom long, four sticks, the opening being rectangular. An uhu, a live one, is used as a decoy to ensnare stranger uhu. The decoy is secured by a line, and when it becomes tame, the net is cast. (This method of fishing for uhu is not often practiced now, for it is hard to obtain the original for a decoy. The more common method is by spearing.)

13. Maomao fishing: The maomao net is three fathoms long. Lobster is bait for the maomao, and sometimes pōhue is used. The pōhue bait is a piece of bitter calabash, made in a circular shape and blackened in the fire, and tied to the opening of the net, thus: there are four sticks encircling the mouth of the net, and on this mouth, the piece of pōhue is placed, floating on the sea. On seeing the pōhue floating, the maomao takes it for bait and is thus ensnared in the net. (Maomao, unclassified, is a yellowish fish of medium size, with red and black spots.)

14. He ʻupena luelue, or bag net: This net has a circular mouth, and across the center of the net is a string to which the bait is fastened. At the bottom of the net, a stone is placed to hold the net down.

[Hawaiian dictionary: meshes the width of a finger; the mouth is held open by a hoop of walaheʻe wood and baited and lowered into the sea by four long cords.]

15. Hīnaʻi pai kala, or lifting basket for catching surgeon fish: A plaited basket is used as a net. Kala is fed with limu kala (seaweed), kalo, and ipu pū (squash) until the fish fattens. Then a basket with food is let down. After the fish become accustomed to the feeding in the basket, a catching net is let down.

16. Concerning the ahi, or albacore tuna: A line of four hundred fathoms is used. Large hooks are required, with aku and ʻōpelu as bait. A nice flat stone is used as a sinker and when two times forty fathoms of line have been paid out into the deep, it is pulled up, then the weight drops and the ahi are caught by the hooks. Then the fish dives carrying many the line with it. The ahi is a very ferocious and powerful fish, and of prolonged vitality. The ahi will bear away three times before it dies. It has a very large body, fat and full of meat. Its flesh is as thick as a pig.

17. He ʻaʻei ʻōpelu, or net for ʻōpelu: This net is six fathoms long, with squash (palaʻai pū) used as bait. [Hawaiian dictionary: a fine net used for ʻōpelu and maomao fish; it was held open at the mouth by kuku, stretching poles.]

18. He ʻupena holahola, or net used with poison: the net is placed around the fish hole, then the ʻauhuhu is diffused through the water, stunning the fish, which float up into the net. Āholehole, hīnālea, kūmū, manini, puaʻula, and weke are caught by this method.

19. He ʻiao, or silverside: A very fine-meshed net called nae is used for catching ʻiao, silversides. The net is two fathoms long. Two men to handle it, and the beaters come towards the front of the net. Two kinds of fish are caught with this net, the ʻiao and the nehu, or anchovy (both used as bait to catch aku).

20. He aku, or bonito: A fishing pole is used for catching aku, with ʻiao as bait. ʻIao is used to lure the aku, then the hook and line is thrown in to hook the fish. (The ʻiao is cast into the sea from the back of the canoe, preferably alive. The aku follow the bait. A pearl shell

lure, which resembled an ʻiao, with a barb attached was also used to catch the aku.) [See Appendix 1, Beckley for a detailed description of this fishing method.]

21. ʻUpena kolo, or drag net: This net is made of very strong-fibered rushes (ʻahu ʻawa), four times forty fathoms long, and three fathoms in height. Many people are required to draw it, some in canoes and some on dry land.

No Ka Lawaiʻa Pō: Night Fishing

1. Kū kaula, or deep-water line fishing: The catch is the ulua, the kāhala, and so forth. The line and sinker is let down, the line being forty fathoms long. [Kamakau says eighty fathoms.] Mālolo (flying-fish), ula (lobster), lelepō (flying fish that leap at night) and so forth are used for bait. In the afternoon [the fisherman sets sail, arriving at the fishing ground] in the evening. The line is let down when it is dark; the ulua and other fish are caught during the night.

2. Kāpapa ulua, or attracting ulua by striking the sides of the canoe: The canoe is paddled along while the paddles are struck against the side of the canoe. The ulua hears the noise and follows the canoe. The line and hook is paid out and the ulua is caught.

3. Wele ʻā, or lizard fish: The line is nine fathoms long, with a hook. Hīnālea, ʻaʻawa (wrasse, hogfish), moano and so forth are used as bait.

4. ʻĀweoweo, or bigeye: The fish line is six fathoms long, with a hook; pāoʻo is used as bait.

5. Lawaiʻa manō, or shark fishing: A large net, forty fathoms long and four fathoms high is used to entangle the shark. Many sharks are caught in this net.

6. He ʻupena awa, or net for catching awa, or milk-fish: This net is called mahae, the mesh allowing four fingers bunched together to run through it. It is three times forty fathoms long and three fathoms high. The awa is known to gather together in one place at night to feed on limu. The net is used to encircle the awa, with a canoe at either end

and moving in a circle. The awa is a large fish, its body being a muku (four and a half feet), or a yard, and so on in length. (The awa referred to here is the awa kalamoho, a large fish of the same color and meat as the ʻanae (sea mullet), only it is much larger in size, some being as long as six feet and easily ten inches thick at the largest section of the body. It is shaped very much like the salmon. The awa is a hard fighter.)

7. ʻUpena hahau, or thrashing-net: Four times forty fathoms is the length of this net and six yards high. The net is placed in a straight line, but curving at one end. The reason for that is, that when the fish is running parallel to the net on turning back they will be caught at that place. One man thrashes the sea from the front of the canoe with a paddle to stir the sea and scare the fish back. Many fishes may be caught in this net.

8. ʻUpena ʻalihilele, or drag-net: This net is six fathoms long, with leaves on either side. Two men are engaged with the net and large mullet are caught.

9. ʻUpena ani, or draw net: This net is ten fathoms long, two men being employed. The feet splash the water to scare the fish in to the net [kāpeku]. Ani: to draw a net over the surface of the water. ʻAnae, weke, ʻoama, and uouoa are caught.

10. ʻUpena ʻōhua palemo, or net for catching young uhu and other juvenile fish in shallow water: The net is one fathom long; ten men are employed in fishing with this net. The ʻōhua and the ʻakilolo (a wrasse) are the fish caught with this net.

This is the end of the narrative on nets and fishes: But one thing more about endurance men in ocean diving and fishing: they are very famous until this day, and many stories about them are told among our people.

[A footnote presents the following "don'ts" of fishing:

Don't say "E hele ana wau i ka lawaia" ("I am going fishing"). Say instead, "E hele ana wau i ka nahelehele" ("I am going to the forest"). The fish have ears, and when you say you're going fishing, they hear

and run away.

Don't hold your hands behind your back. To do so is an indication of weariness, and fish, being very considerate, don't care to burden you further, so they keep out of your reach.

Don't carry on a conversation on the way to or at the fishing grounds; fish will hear it and disappear.

Don't walk on the beach immediately abreast of where the net is intended to be cast; the noise of your feet on the pebbles or sand scares the fish off.

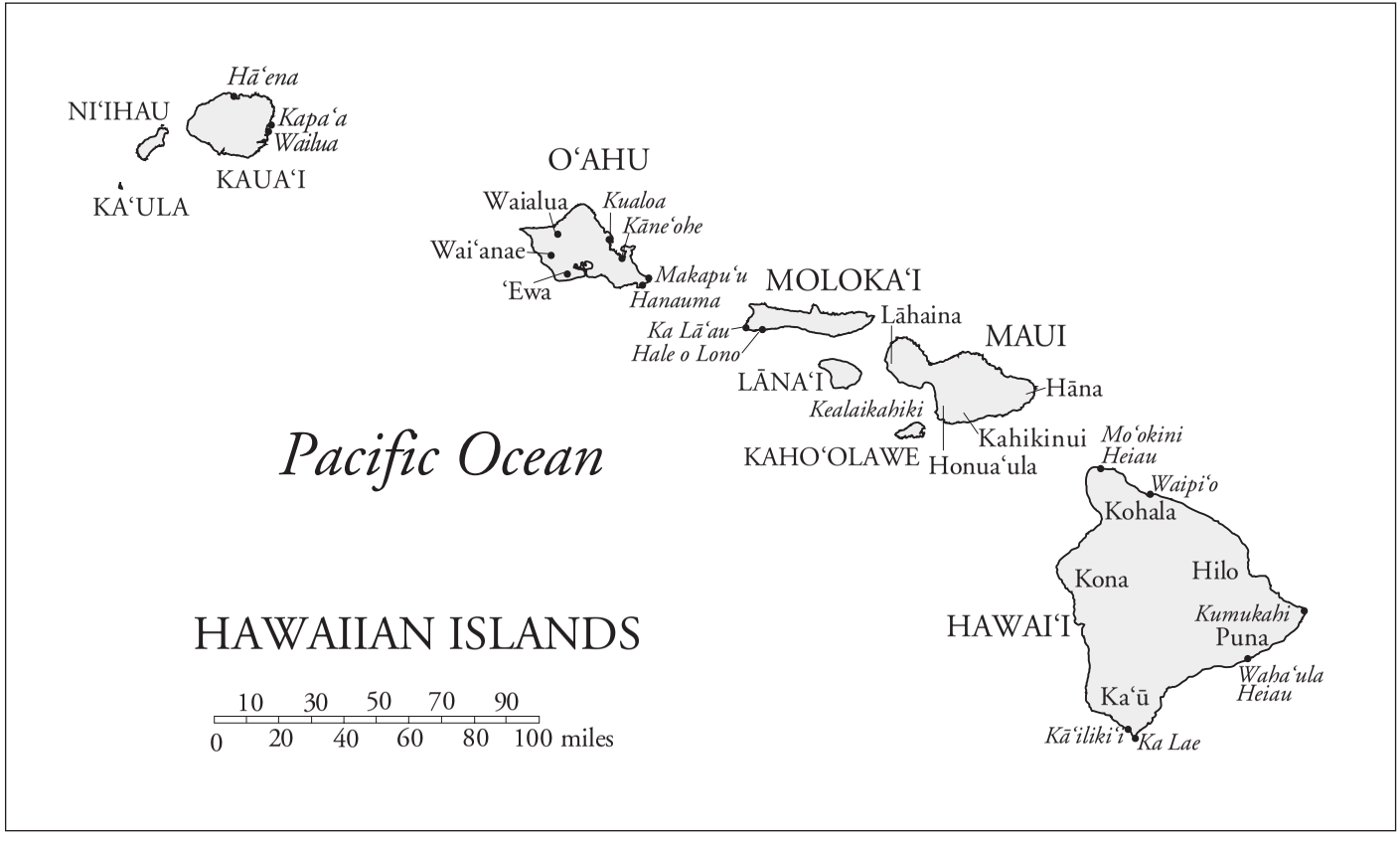
Don't ask idle questions of canoe-men getting ready to go out fishing; they consider this an omen of bad luck.

Don't indulge in dirty language or in smutty tales before going fishing; even fish are averse to dirt.

Don't walk on a net when it's spread out; don't step over a net when it's bundled. Take time to walk around it because it's the house of the fish when it's cast in the sea, and the fish prefer it clean.

Don't "aia" the fish ("there it is") when you see it entering the net; fish are timid and don't care to be noticed; when you do take notice, they turn right around and rush out again.

Don't go fishing if your mouth is wrong (i.e., if you have made a vow which you haven't fulfilled); you'll only make your companions weary, for you'll all come back empty-handed – fish abhor a gasbag and keep away from him.]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NI'IHAU
Kapa'a
Wailua
KAUA'I
KA'ULA
O'AHU
Waialua
Kualoa
Kāne'ohe
Wai'anae
'Ewa
Makapu'u
Hanauma
MOLOKA'I
Lāhaina
Ka Lā'au
Hale o Lono
MAUI
LĀNA'I
Hāna
Kealaikahiki
Kahikinui
KAHO'OLAWE
Honua'ula
Mo'okini
Heiau
Waipi'o
Kohala
Kona
Hilo
HAWAI'I
Kumukahi
Puna
Waha'ula
Heiau
Ka'ū
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HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
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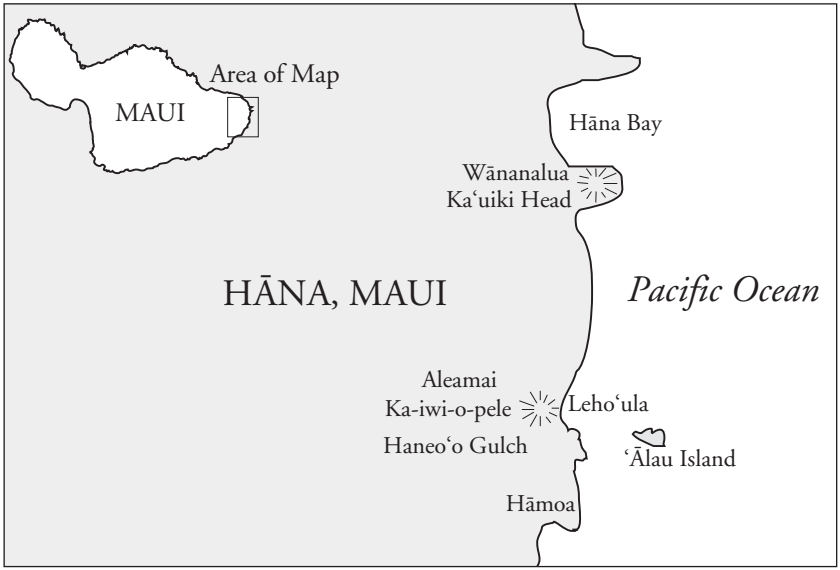
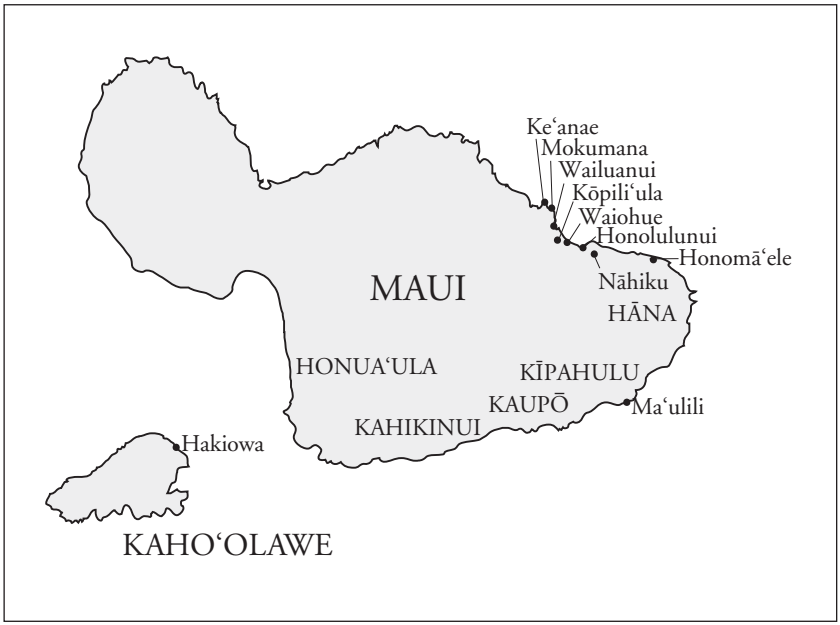
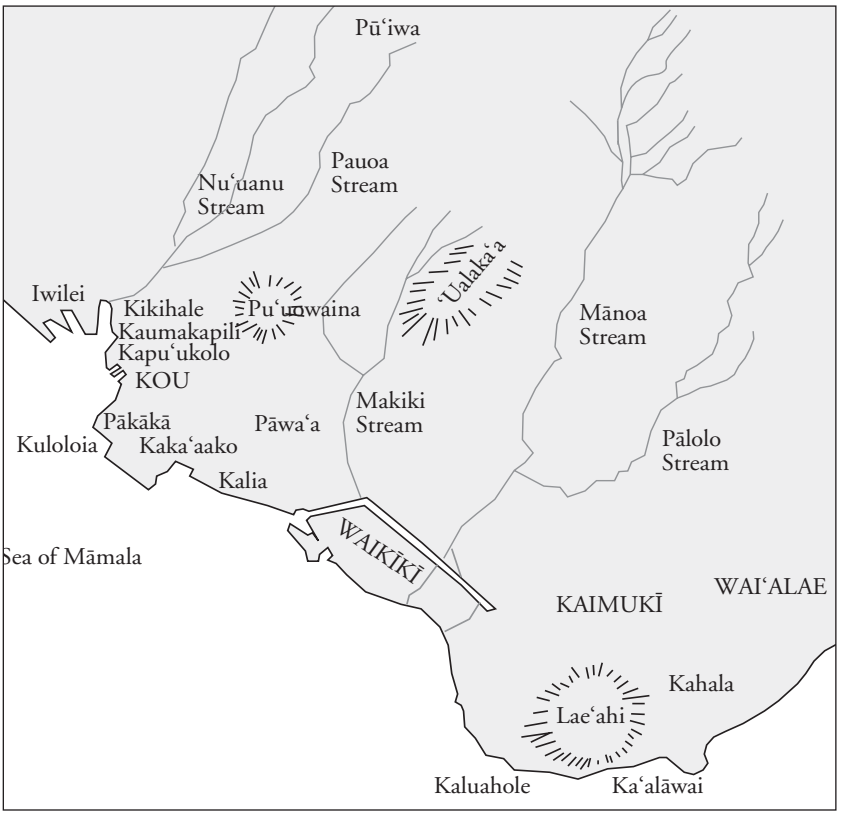
Places of Maui and Hāna





Places of Kou (Honolulu)

Kou: the former name of Honolulu harbor and vicinity.
Kakaʻako: the area between Ala Moana and Honolulu harbor.
Māmala: the sea outside the entrance of Honolulu Harbor.
Kuloloia: the area from Kakaʻako to Fort Street.
Pākākā: the canoe landing in Honolulu harbor, by the present Aloha Tower.
Kapapoko: area near Honolulu harbor; Kaʻahumanu's Honolulu house took this name.
Pūʻiwa: an area in upper Nuʻuanu valley.
Kaumakapili: the area around Beretania and Smith Street where the church of this name was once located.
Kapuʻu-kolo: the shore between Nuʻuanu Street and Honolulu Harbor.
Kūwili: a fishpond formerly in Iwilei.
Kahuailanawai: a pool in upper Nuʻuanu, possibly the one called Jackass Ginger today; lit. "place where water pools.")



Glossary

Descriptions on the fish listed in this glossary are from Titcomb's *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii*. An online Hawaiian dictionary can be found at http://wehewehe.org/cgi-bin/hdict.

a-hā-hā: variant of **ahahana**, interj., a taunting or mocking laugh.

ʻahi: albacore, or yellow-fin tuna; trolled for with hook and line in the deep sea; 75-200 pounds; in season from May to August; ʻono; eaten raw, baked, or dried.

āhole or **āholehole**: a perch-like fish, 6-10 inches long; silvery gray on top, whitish below; found near shore living in lava or coral caves (lua); ʻono; eaten raw, dried, salted, or broiled on hot coals.

ahupuaʻa: a land division from the mountains to the sea.

ʻai: vegetable food, often specifically poi; products of the land; cf. **iʻa**.

aikāne: a dear friend.

ʻāina: land; inherited property.

aku: bonito, or skipjack tuna; 2-3 feet long; caught using a pā (see note 18 in the story of ʻAiʻai for a description of aku fishing); considered the most ʻono fish by some Hawaiians; every part was eaten, from head to tail, raw, dried, or baked.

akua: god, spirit, or goblin.

akule: big-eyed scad; 7-20 inches long; bluish, with brassy tints, whitish around the stomach; found in big bays in large schools and netted from canoes; a favorite fish for drying.

aliʻi: a chief; the chiefly class. as opposed to working class, or **makaʻāinana.**

‘ama‘ama: mullet; 8-12 inches long; found near shore and in brackish water; known for seasonal migrations; netted near shore or raised in fishponds; ‘ono, eaten raw or cooked.

anahulu: a ten-day division of the 29 or 30-day lunar month; each month contained three anahulu. Here are the lunar days grouped into the three anahulu:

1. Hilo (faint thread)	11. Huna	21. ‘Olekūkahi
2. Hoaka (crescent)	12. Mōhalu	22.‘Olekūlua (last quarter)
3. Kūkahi	13. Hua (round)	23. ‘Olepau
4. Kūlua	14. Akua (god)	24. Kāloakūkahi
5. Kūkolu	15. Hoku (full)	25. Kāloakūlua
6. Kūpau	16. Māhealani	26. Kāloapau
7. ‘Olekūkahi	17. Kūlua	27. Kāne
8. ‘Olekūlua (1st quarter)		18. La‘aukūkahi 28. Lono
9. ‘Olekūkolu	19. La‘aukūlua	29. Mauli
10. ‘Olepau	20. La‘aukūpau	30. Muku (new)

anana: a fathom; the distance from fingertip to fingertip of a man with his arms stretched out.

ananue [also nenue]: rudder or pilot fish; 1-2 feet long; great variation in color; netted just inside or outside the reef or breakers.

‘ape: large taro-like plant.

‘auki: stem of a ti plant.

‘aumakua: ancestral or personal god; ‘aumākua (plural form).

auwē: Oh! Alas!

‘awa: a shrub whose root was used to make a narcotic drink.

‘āweoweo: a big-eyed fish with rough, red or bronze skin; 12-20 inches long; found in shoal waters inside the reef, sometimes in large schools; caught with net or hook and line; good for broiling

or drying.

Ē: a vocative preceding the name of the person addressed.

haku: master, lord.

hala: pandanus tree; leaves used for weaving baskets.

hau: a type of hibiscus tree; light wood used for net floats.

he‘e: octopus, from small reef ones to large deep-water ones (up to 6-7 feet long).

hīnālea: a wrasse; lives on reefs; predominantly dark blue, green, or black, with sometimes colorful markings; 3-10 inches long; usually eaten raw. See the story of Kalamainu‘u for the origin of the basket trap used to catch this fish.

hōkeo: fishing-gear gourd

i‘a: seafood, meat, or anything eaten as a relish with ‘ai.

‘inalua: a vine used to weave the hīna‘i hīnālea (basket trap for wrasse); same as pōniu, a balloon vine or heartseed (balloon-like capsules contain three seeds).

imu: underground oven; food was placed in a pit with hot rocks and buried until cooked.

kāhala: amberjack, six or more feet long; silvery blue with yellow stripe along each side; taken with hook and line in the deep sea; eaten baked or salted.

kahu: caretaker.

kahuna: priest; expert in any profession. Plural form: **kāhuna.**

kala: surgeonfish with a horn on its forehead; named for the seaweed on which it feeds (limu kala); 12-24 inches long; taken in baskets or nets, or speared; it has a strong odor, but is well liked; eaten broiled,

baked, or dried.

kalo: the taro plant.

kamaʻāina: native-born; lit. "child of the land."

kapa: tapa cloth; made from wauke or māmaki bark.

kapu: taboo; prohibition, restriction, law.

kī: the ti plant.

kīhei: cape made from kapa.

kilu: a game in which a player on one side tossed a small gourd or coconut shell (a kilu) at an object placed in front of each player on the other side. A hit won a kiss; ten hits won the game.

koa: a native hardwood tree.

koʻa, or **koʻa kūʻula**: a fishing shrine or house sacred to the fishing gods (to attract fish, make fish multiply, and insure a good catch; the shrine was a large stone or two, sometimes on a paved platform; or a heap of stones and coral rock near shore.

koʻa, **koʻa ʻāina**, **koʻa ʻāina ʻaumākua**, **koʻa iʻa**, or **koʻa lawaiʻa**: fishing grounds.

kōʻele: work done for a chief; Friday was called kōʻele because the work was often done on this day.

konohiki: overseers of the aliʻi's lands.

kūmū: goatfish; 5-16 inches long; found in both shallow and deep water; ʻono; eaten raw, broiled, or cooked in ti leaves; often used as a religious offering if a red fish was needed; taboo to women.

kupua: demigod; supernatural being with various forms.

kūʻula: a house or shrine dedicated to a fishing god; also a stone used to

attract fish. The house was where the fishermen slept before going fishing for certain fish, such as the ʻōpelu; the men worshiped the fishing god, purified themselves with a ceremony (Malo 209-10), and sometimes sought visions of schools of fish or the outcome of the expedition; the men were forbidden to go home and sleep with their wives.

lāʻī: leaf of the ti plant (contraction of "lau kī").

lama: endemic ebony; hardwood trees with small flowers and fruits.

lau hala: leaves of the hala tree; used to weave baskets.

lawaiʻa: fisherman; to catch fish; **lawaiʻa nui:** head fisherman.

lehua: flower of the ʻōhiʻa lehua tree, or the tree itself.

lelekawa: to leap feet first from a cliff into water.

limu: plants living in fresh or salt water.

maiʻa: banana; maiʻa pōpōʻulu: variety of banana with short green trunk.

maile: a native twining shrub with fragrant leaves.

makaʻāinana: common people, as opposed to aliʻi, or royalty.; lit. "people who attend to the land"; the word is a cognate of Marquesan-Tahitian mataʻeinaʻa, meaning "land-owning descent group."

makai: seaward; seashore. cf. *mauka*.

malau: a light canoe for fishing; a live-bait tank used in aku fishing; a bait-carrying canoe.

malo: loincloth.

mālolo: flying fish; 9-12 inches long; schools in the open ocean were surrounded and netted; abundant from March to June; ʻono; eaten

raw or cooked in ti leaves.

mana, mana kupua: supernatural or divine power.

manini: a striped surgeonfish; 3-5 inches long; a common, popular reef fish; ‘ono, eaten raw or cooked.

manō: shark; Beckley (“Hawaiian Fisheries” 10-12) and Kamakau (*Works* 87) give fascinating accounts of shark fishing; **manō kanaka** is a shark man; **manō ali‘i**, a shark chief; **manō kupua**, a supernatural shark.

mauka: mountainward, uplands. cf. *makai*.

mele: song, chant, or poem.

moi: threadfish; 18 or more inches long; tawny yellow with light brown stripes; ‘ono, but not common; reserved for the ali‘i, or chiefs.

mo‘o: lizard; reptile of any kind; lizard god living in pools and streams.

nehu: anchovy; 1-2 inches long; bluish with a silvery band on each side, from head to tail; netted in deep water; eaten raw, pickled, or dried; used for bait to catch larger fish.

nenue: rudder or pilot fish; 1-2 feet long; great variation in color; netted just inside or outisde the reef or breakers; ‘ono, especially raw.

nui: big.

‘ōhi‘a, or **‘ōhi‘a lehua**: native tree with red flowers

‘ō‘io: bonefish; 2-3 feet long; silvery; popular food fish; travels in schools; caught with nets just inside or outside the reef or breakers.

‘ono: delicious; to savor.

‘o‘opu: goby fish.

‘ōpae: fresh or salt-water shrimp; the freshwater ones were caught in

mountain streams with a basket woven from the air roots of the ʻieʻie (a woody branching climber).

ʻōpelu: mackerel scad; 12 inches long; dark blue fading to white on belly; netted in deep water; ʻono; eaten raw, dried, or broiled.

ʻopihi: limpet; a tasty shellfish with a conical shell. It clings to rocks and must be pried off. **ʻopihi-kōʻele**: large, tough ʻopihi.

ʻōpule: a wrasse; about a foot long, brownish red with a narrow blue line on each scale. Not eated raw, but good for broiling and baking.

pā: mother-of-pearl shell; pearl-shell lure; **pā hī aku**: pearl-shell lure for catching aku.

pāhoehoe: smooth, unbroken lava mass.

palani: a surgeon fish; 6-12 inches long; brownish, orange, or grey; netted near shore; strong odor, but well liked; eaten raw, broiled, or cooked in a calabash.

pali: cliff.

pāoʻo: rockskippers, so called because of their ability to leap from pond to pond across stretches of rocky shoreline. For some people, they are ʻaumākua.

pāʻū: a woman's skirt.

pū hala: pandanus tree.

pūʻili: a game played with sugar-cane flowers.

puhi: eel; many varieties found in Hawaiian waters; one variety, the puhi pahu was known for devouring all seafood, so that pools near its haunt were empty; it was capable of biting off a toe or a finger of an unwary fisher; some varieties prized as food; taken by scoop net, basket trap, spear, hook and line, or hand; eaten cooked, not raw.

pūpū: a relish or hor dʻoeuvre; seafood, chicken, or banana served with

ʻawa.

uhu: parrot fish; 1-3 feet long; red or green; found along the shores of all the islands; abundant from May to July; caught with hook and line, in a reef trap, or with a net using a live decoy attached to a string to lure the fish in; ʻono; the flesh sometimes eaten dried or broiled, but preferred raw, especially the red variety, mixed with its mashed liver and seaweed.

ula: lobster.

ʻulaʻula: red snapper; 17-30 inches long; red or rose with yellow or golden bands extending along upper half of body; ʻono, eaten raw, dried, or broiled. See note 4 in the legend of ʻAiʻai for a description of deep-sea fishing with hook and line for ʻulaʻula.

ulua: crevalle; up to five feet long and weighing 100-125 pounds; light and dark varieties; caught with hook and line in deep water; eaten raw, baked, or broiled. "The eyes were well liked; stuffed into the belly before the fish was places in the imu."

uouoa: false mullet; up to 9 inches long; silvery to olive grey; found along shore or in the lower portion of streams; eaten raw or cooked in ti leaves; looks and tastes like mullet. The head sometimes contained a chemical causing nightmares.

wekeʻula: red goat fish; 9-14 inches; taken near shore; ʻono broiled in ti leaves.

wiliwili: a native leguminous tree; the wood is very light and was used for surfboards, canoe outriggers, and net floats.

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